

# The HISTORICAL BULLETIN

A CATHOLIC QUARTERLY  
for Teachers and Students of History

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No. 4

## Latin American Literature and the Historian

Joseph F.  
Privitera

## Geographic Factors in Latin American Development

John W.  
Conoyer

## The Two Diegos and Other Problems

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# The HISTORICAL BULLETIN

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## Latin American Literature and the Historian

Joseph F. Privitera, Ph. D.

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THE historian who would arrive at a fuller understanding of Latin American civilization must ultimately penetrate beyond the written record of historical facts into the realm of literature. Here he will find the motivating impulses, the ideas and the psychological springs which better than the facts serve to explain a nation's past as well as its present.

The writer by no means pretends to state here a new principle; historians know only too well how useless it would be to speak of the Age of Louis XIV, without more than passing consideration of the works of Descartes, Molière, Racine, LaBruyère and Fénelon. But it is, perhaps, not wholly inappropriate, at this time, in view of the increased interest in the countries to the south, to bring to the attention of the historian, some works of Latin American literature which will lend themselves readily to the interpretation of historical facts.

It is not my intention to compile a bibliography of literary works useful to the historian; it is rather my purpose to demonstrate how some of these writings can be of service to him.

### *Seeing Argentina Through Her Literature*

As a first example, let us take the case of Argentina, which because of the recent attention it has received in the news, brought forth a host of varied interpretations. Among the most popular of these is the one that would attribute to her a reason for balking the Good Neighbor Policy and for refusing to cooperate for economic and political reasons, namely, that Argentina sees in the United States' interest in Latin America a serious threat to her economy. The explanation has been repeatedly proffered that much of her hostility is due to the fact that we have barred Argentine beef from North Amer-

ican markets. Politically, commentators point out the obvious: a group of fascists have seized control and they will not lift a finger to aid the democracies. But these explanations are too facile; they explain only in terms of what the eye can see. They offer, moreover, no psychological basis on which Argentinean hostility of the United States pivots.

For this we must turn to literature. But first a few words about the country's makeup. Unlike most of her South American neighbors, Argentina has no past; that is, she has no past like that of Mexico or Peru, which is rooted in the soil, dating back to the Aztecs, Mayas, and Incas. Argentina knows nothing of Indians and the servility and feudalistic backwardness they have imparted to most of Latin America. Her memory can only call forth a struggle for the land, followed by a deluge of immigrants. These immigrants brought with them the capitalistic mentality inherent in their makeup which sees in a new country but one single purpose—the quick and easy exploitation of the land and fortunes rapidly accumulated. Argentina is a land of immigrants who brought with them those traits upon which capitalism is built—greed for gain, an impulsion to work and work hard to the exclusion of all else, willingness to take risks and speculate for quick profits. The immigrant has no past; he has left it behind him in the old country. He lives in the future and the promise of wealth that the future holds for him.

In Argentina, the immigrant found a rich land, permitting easy development. Here was a land fulfilling his wildest expectations. It is not surprising that thus surrounded by an earthly manna, he could only see, as he peered into the future, a great destiny for his adopted

country; for while the neighboring ones moved sluggishly on in a primitive form of society, his was taking rapid strides forward towards the goal of flowing wealth and power. Thus no matter what his place of origin or how recent his arrival, the newcomer has willingly immersed himself in the belief that Argentina was destined to greatness, and has taken unto himself readily the gaucho poem *Martín Fierro*, which incarnates and glorifies this image. Sarmiento bears this out in his *Facundo*, where he states that "Argentineans of all classes, civilized and ignorant, have a high idea of their work as a nation and constantly hurl this vanity in the face of all the other American people, who are offended by their presumption and arrogance."

This arrogance and acquisitive nature of the immigrant have made of Argentina an imperialistic nation that seeks to dominate the whole of the South American continent, or, at very least, its southern portion.

To the immigrant, who is interested only in gain, nothing is sacred. Thus complains Cantalicio, the old dispossessed creole in Florencio Sánchez' play *La Gringa*. The gringo, or foreigner, here referring specifically to Italians, hurls down anything that falls in the path of his quest for gold. "Look," says old Cantalicio to a friend, "all this pampa . . . which was ours . . . piece by piece, day after day, these foreigners have been seizing it to put it to the plow . . . How it hurts, my friends, to see these beautiful fields where grass grew ruined." And the ombú, the old tree to which creoles have attached a depth of sentimental affection—it, too, must go. "Ombú trees," wails the helpless Cantalicio, "are like rivers or like hills . . . One has never seen a river stopped up so as to build a house on its bed . . . nor a mountain chopped down to create a pasture . . . Assassins! . . . They have no soul! . . . For if they did, it would hurt them inside to destroy so pretty, so good, so gentle a tree."<sup>1</sup>

This thirst of the Argentinean is recognized by one of his outstanding essayists and novelists, Manuel Gálvez, who in his *Argentina in our Books*<sup>2</sup> states that "he has a great push behind him . . . The Argentinean is a *go-ahead*: a man who wishes to go ever forward." Even students, he tells us, study not because of love of learning, but in order to make money and achieve success. "But even study," he says, "has scant importance in this country . . . Almost all Argentine students study only in order to 'pass,' or out of vanity, or in order to achieve a career that produces money. Here one does not understand that one should study solely for the love of study. I know of one person who was studying Greek, and, as he travelled quite a bit in trolleys, sometimes he had with him a grammar or text. Infallibly, upon meeting him in the street, his acquaintances, after seizing the volume and learning what it was, asked him what was

the object of his studying Greek. They supposed that it was in order to obtain a university post, since here few conceive of study as a purely intellectual passion."

Elsewhere, Gálvez notes that because of his countrymen's inordinate desire to get ahead fast in life, to make money, and to achieve prestige (all desires inherent in the immigrant mentality), Argentineans are dissatisfied with the life they live, with their character, with their country itself. A vague uneasiness pervades the atmosphere and crystallizes into a fear of ridicule. One lives, he says, "wondering what people will say. No one will take a step in life without asking himself how he will be considered by others. In this country, he who wishes to 'arrive' must 'watch himself.'" He goes on to cite specific instances: a doctor, for example, cannot write verses, a politician cannot be seen dancing, an important personage must never appear at a bar with his friends.

This fear of ridicule is excellently described by Gálvez himself in a passage of his novel, *Nacha Regules*, referring to his neurotic hero Monsalvat:

Monsalvat, however, was too modest for the role assigned to him: he had an exaggerated fear of appearing ridiculous. Dread of standing awkwardly in the limelight, of doing the wrong thing there, always made him keep his opinions to himself, no matter how much to the point they might have been. Timid, lacking confidence in himself and in others, he never gave anyone a glimpse of his real nature. Only a few intimate friends, among them the women who loved him, knew and appreciated his qualities.

To these observations, Gálvez adds another important one. "Our fault," he says, "is vanity. We do not have a spontaneous life . . . we live trying to appear what we are not. Or rather, what we wish to be, or what we think we are. Vanity makes us conventional. Even the choice of friends is guided by vanity."

This is not the place to draw a full psychological portrait of the Argentinean. My purpose as stated above was to show how a study of the literature can help cast light upon the country's history. I have, therefore, limited my observations to but a few gleaned rapidly from a small number of works. Roughly, these point to the following traits in the Argentinean character: an immigrant, aggressive, capitalistic mentality; a high idea of self and state, with an accompanying arrogance; unscrupulousness; superficiality coupled with an inordinate desire to "go ahead"; fear of ridicule; and vanity. In terms of contemporary history, these traits would serve to explain much of Argentina's attitude toward the United States. The Good Neighbor Policy, for instance, would necessarily be viewed with a cold eye, for to the Argentinean it can only imply a threat to his own imperialistic interests in South America. His arrogance and exaggerated idea of his own worth would naturally cause him to resent the presence within his "sphere of influence" of a nation greater than his and by far more powerful. It seems, therefore, to be a foregone conclusion that his reaction can only be one of opposition to the United States, which he views as a rival to his own economic interests as well as a threat to his prestige and a slight to his vanity.

<sup>1</sup> Florencio Sánchez, an Uruguayan, is the outstanding playwright of the Plata Region, if not of all of Latin America. Most of his plays are laid in Argentina, where he spent many years of his life.

<sup>2</sup> Manuel Gálvez has written many "best sellers," among which is *Nacha Regules*, a novel dealing with a very serious social problem in Argentina, the fallen woman. The work referred to here is titled *La Argentina en Nuestros Libros*, Ercilla, Santiago, Chile, 1935.

# Geographic Factors in Latin American Development

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**L**ATIN America, the portion of the New World that extends from the Rio Grande of northern Mexico to the fiorded headlands of Cape Horn, possesses a wealth of variety in its geographic factors. Though they were settled in the sixteenth century, before the Pilgrim Fathers landed at Plymouth, the several Latin American republics are still in their "youth." Politico-geographically speaking, youthful countries are those states who have not developed their resources to any great extent. They are still busy with internal development—the "setting of their house in order." And since these youthful countries have not developed imperialistic tendencies associated with the age of adolescence, they constitute little real threat to world peace.

Why, then, have these Latin America republics, having a "head start" on their Anglo-American sister to the north, lagged so much farther behind in their economic and geo-political development? Why have the United States so quickly passed through the stages of youth and adolescence to enjoy the well-being of a mature state? The answer, of course, shall be attempted from the viewpoint of the geographer.

## Mountain Ranges

First, let us consider the physical factors. Latin America possesses an areal extent of approximately eight million square miles, or an area a little smaller than pre-war Soviet Russia. Extending from about 32° N. Latitude two mountain chains, Sierra Madre Oriental and Sierra Madre Occidental, both lofty, face tidewater on either side, and form barriers to coastal penetration at altitudes of 8,000 to 10,000 feet. Just below Mexico City these ranges unite to form a single chain. They "sag" and become broken uplands through Middle America, and almost dip below sea level at the Panamanian Isthmus. Rising rather abruptly in South America Colombia, the chain becomes the broad, corrugated Andine System of the west coast. Crossing the Equator and the Tropic of Capricorn at great height, an average elevation of about 13,000 feet, the ranges gradually become lower and narrower, and finally dip into the waters of Drake Strait, just below Cape Horn, about 56° S. Latitude.

South America's eastern highlands are not so forbidding. Here, mountains showing physical characteristics of old age have an average elevation of about 3,000 feet, with numerous valleys and accessible plateaus interspersed.

In Mexico, between the Sierra Madre ranges lies the Central Plateau. The broad Andes have high interior plateaus in Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Chile, and western Argentina.

## Valleys

Latin America's lowland features are closely associated with the factor of hydrography or drainage. The Gulf Coasts of Mexico are narrow. Their soils are largely alluvial, composed of materials brought down from the Sierra Madres by erosion. The streams are

few, but short and swift, and of little value to transportation at present.

South America with its elaborate drainage pattern has many lowlands, coastal and interior. Among them are the Magdalena, Cauca, and Atrato River Valleys of northwestern Colombia, the lowlands of the Orinoco in east-central Venezuela, and the Paraguay-Pilcomayo-Parana Lowlands of Paraguay and northeastern Argentina.

But most extensive of all is the Amazon Basin which comprises 40% of Brazil's national territory. Formed by the eastern Andine slope, Guinea and Brazilian Highlands, it tilts towards the east, and terminates in the swampy Atlantic littoral.

## Climatic Conditions and Their Effects

Climate and vegetation have produced a marked influence in Latin American development. Here, again, great variety is in evidence. The Rainy Tropics climate of the Amazon Basin, east coast of Bahía and Espírito Santos, the Caribbean Lowlands, and Gulf Coastal Mexico are hot and steamy, therefore inimical to the white man. Temperatures are consistently high, 85° to 90° F., with little variation throughout the year. Relative humidity is high, and consequently raises the sensible temperature. Convection showers occurring practically every day make conditions almost unbearable. Three-story vegetation, wherever the soil has sufficient fertility to sustain it, is at its best and forms a thick canopy excluding the sunlight even at mid-day. In the Rainy Tropics there is a dearth of fruits for they need the sunlight and are found only at the top of the third story. Animal life, too, is scarce and highly specialized. Gliding or flying animals such as bats, flying squirrels, and birds are found. Then, there are the arboreals, sloth, and monkeys. The jaguar, ocelot, anteater and serpents complete the list. Insects are numerous.

The population of these areas is usually sparse, under five persons per square mile, except where plantations have been developed. In such remote areas the river is the natural and often the only highway. Therefore, people live along its banks. Indians, many of them savages, or unfriendly to outside influences, exist by means of primitive hunting and fishing, with hoe or "crooked stick" agriculture as supplementary.

Slightly poleward, but still well within the tropics are lands possessing the Monsoon climatic type. Among these regions are the Tampico-Vera Cruz Lowlands, the Pacific Slope of Sierra Madre del Sur, the Ecuadorian Coast, the Llanas, the Campos, and the Pernambuco Littoral. Again, as in the Rainy Tropics, temperatures are high throughout the year but rainy and dry "spells" occur in regular seasonal progression, the rainy season being the longer. Because of the dry season, vegetation is not so dense. It thins out and admits sunlight, and is called jungle, park savannah, or grass savannah. Monsoon climatic conditions are

more conducive to human habitation for, although mugginess prevails during the wet season, the dry months bring about a period of "rest" from the discomfort caused by heat and moisture. The jungle is more accessible to mankind than the rain forest. Herbivorous and carnivorous animals are attracted to these regions which are termed "big game country."

#### *The Tropics and Subtropics*

Bordering the belt of the Tropical Monsoons are the Semi-Arid Tropical climatic regions, namely the Topolobampo-Mazatlan Coast, the Yucatan Peninsula and the Ceará-Piauí Coast and Interior. Here the dry season is much longer than the rainy (in direct contrast to those of the Monsoon regions) and again both occur in regular progression. Vegetation is sparse; widely spaced bunch grass and thorn scrub persist.

In the interior basin of northern Mexico, in the Arid Tropical climatic belt is the Colorado-Sonora Desert. Along the South American west coast in the rain shadow of the Andes part of the year and in the path of the winds blowing in from over the cool Humboldt Current is the Peruvian-Atacama Desert.

In the subtropics and possessing the Mediterranean type of climate with its mild, moist winters and sunny, dry summers and sclerophyllous vegetation <sup>1</sup> is the Valley of Central Chile.

Humid Subtropical Latin America with its mild winters and hot summers with a fairly even distribution of rainfall is located in the Middle Parana Basin.

The Northern Interior of Mexico and the Eastern Andine Slopes of Northwest Argentina are regional examples where Dry Subtropic climatic conditions prevail. Xerophytic vegetation and absence of reliable streams reflect these arid conditions.

The "garden spot" of South America, the eastern Pampa, is associated with the Humid Continental climatic type. In regard to temperature there are four distinct seasons. Cyclonic conditions favor precipitation throughout the year, although summer droughts frequently occur in some parts of the Pampa. Prairie grass facilitated the movement of animals and people.

#### *Along the Andes*

Northwestern Patagonia, wind-swept and arid and on the leeward side of the Andes, possesses a Dry Continental type of climate. Seasonal variations in temperature are pronounced, though somewhat tempered by marine influences south of the river Chubut. Vegetation consists of prairie or steppe grass, shorter and more widely scattered than that of the Pampa, and xerophytic vegetation in the northwest immediately in the rain shadow.

South Chile possesses a type of climate unique in Latin America, the Temperate Marine. Mountainous stretches and fiorded coasts with numerous off-shore islands shrouded by fog, mist, and drizzle make the land more forbidding than the ocean. Softwood evergreens dripping with moisture clothe the forest floor with a wet, slippery carpet of needles and fallen branches. In the far south forests give way to a coarse tussock grass, mosses, and lichens. Rain falls in pro-

longed drizzles. There is much cloudiness. And when the sun shines, the haze obscures its brightness. Winds are strong, damp, chilling, and penetrating.

Unclassified among the climatic types are the Sierra Madre and Andes with their lofty peaks, numerous ridges, steep slopes, and trenchant valleys. Although these uplands are largely in the Torrid Zone, they present great climatic variety. In many instances, areas possessing the landform features of low relief owe climatic differences largely to their astronomical location, that is, their position in latitude. Ocean currents, winds, or continental location would act as conditioning factors. But in the Latin American highlands altitude displaces latitude as a major factor in climatic variety. Within a few degrees of the Equator temperature changes due to altitude differences are as pronounced as those found in northward progression from the Amazon Basin of Brazil to sub-polar Canada. For the sake of illustration, Highland Colombia, within eight degrees of the Equator, has the following temperature zones: a) Tropical up to about 3,400 feet; b) Subtropical from 3,400 to 6,800 feet; c) Temperate from 6,800 to 10,000 feet; d) Paramo (cool temperature) from 10,000 to 14,000 feet; e) Sub-Polar above 14,000 feet.

Each altitudinal zone possesses its natural vegetation type. For example: the tropical has the rain forest or xerophytic scrub of interior basins; the subtropical has park savannah; the temperate has native grass, deciduous and evergreen trees; the paramo has ichu grass; sub-polar zones have largely snow and glacier with widely scattered ichu grass.

These physical elements as given and described namely, topography, drainage, climatic types, and vegetation belts, have each played their part in the past development of Latin America, and will continue to do so in the future.

#### *The Spaniards in Latin America*

When the Spaniards came to Latin America during the period of discovery and exploration, they had many purposes in mind. Some came for adventure or political power; others came for wealth and to regain social prestige; and some came as lovers of souls. Many of these men came from the high Spanish Meseta of Old Spain, with its dry, bracing summers and clear, chilly winters. Others were natives of Spain's Mediterranean border. There, moist, mild winters relieved the delightful monotony of a clear, dry summer. Although few belonged to the laboring class, they at least had some knowledge of Spain's major industries, the mining of iron, salt, and copper; the grazing of sheep and goats; cultivation of the vine; and the production of citrus fruits and olives.

With the landing of the Conquistadores in the humid tropical lowlands, obstacles of a geographic nature presented themselves. Coastal areas were hot, moist, and swampy. To the Spaniard, accustomed to the widely dispersed sclerophyllous vegetation of his home land, the tropical forest and jungle growth must have seemed forbidding. Paucity of food, lack of pure water, and presence of numerous insects added to his discomfort. There were few natives willing to serve as guides or porters as he slowly and painfully made his way to the interior highlands.

(Please turn to page eighty-nine)

<sup>1</sup> Sclerophyllous vegetation is a Mediterranean scrub consisting of leathery, broad leafed evergreens.

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## EDITORIALS

The report *Latin America in School and College Teaching Materials*, prepared by a committee of the American Council on Education, in cooperation with a group of some thirty topic specialists, deserves longer notice than the BULLETIN was able to give it in the March number. Such a notice is by no means out of place in this present issue devoted as it is to the Latin American theme.

The report is divided into two parts. The first of these concern itself with a brief exposition of the background and scope of the study and the method by which the survey was carried out; there then follow two important chapters embodying the conclusions of the committee and its recommendations. Of these last two heads presently! The second part, larger in bulk and more pertinent in its information, presents the conclusions and recommendations for the various topical fields examined—United States history textbooks, Latin American history textbooks, school and college works on general history, language textbooks and anthologies, to mention but a few of the twenty bodies of materials studied. The survey limited itself almost exclusively to works which are put in the hands of United States students of the varying grade-levels of our educational system and used as a basis for teaching the several fields. The committee readily admits that other sources of information or, perhaps, misinformation on the "Other Americans" might have been scrutinized, as school and college libraries for example. This may be done at a later date. For the moment, it was decided that the textbook field was important and broad enough by way of a beginning.

In the chapter on Conclusions the committee declares that there is "ground for reasonable optimism about the treatment of Inter-American subjects in our basic teaching materials in spite of criticisms made subsequently in these conclusions." This is, indeed, heartening, for it is evidence that gradually we of the United States are becoming aware of the "Other Americans" and are trying to understand them and portray them honestly. Such was not always the case, thanks to an historical ingrained anti-Hispanic prejudice and a lamentable tendency of

our own to nurture an unwarranted superiority complex in regard to the peoples south of our borders. The day of "conscious and perverted antagonism toward Latin America" is waning. Such inaccuracies and inadequacies as still persist are the result "of historical accident, of ignorance, of thoughtlessness, but not of malicious intent." The committee might also have added, to cover some instances at least, the result of lack of effort to understand the Latin. This is not an easy task, and success is the reward only of considerable study and of a willingness to admit that, though different, Latin ways and ideas and ideals may have something to recommend them even to us self-satisfied Anglos.

Concerning "adequacy of Inter-American material" in books not professedly dealing with such topics, the committee finds it necessary to distinguish for the several fields. In some areas it is felt that Inter-American peoples and things are given sufficient space, in others—sociology, economics, literary anthologies are signalled out—many excellent Latin American examples are overlooked. Attention is called to the need for scholarly exactness in the matter of seemingly minor details—misspellings, accent marks, and the like.

### *The First Correction*

Probably the most serious indictment of the committee and certainly the one best deserved is that which calls attention to the "widespread perpetuation . . . of the Black Legend of Spanish (and, to a lesser degree, of Portuguese) colonial ineptitude, cruelty, faithlessness, greed, and bigotry." Congratulations to the committee for putting its finger on one of the sorest of sore spots. If the survey accomplishes nothing more than a rectification of this result of historical bigotry and propagandistic misrepresentation, its work will have been well-done. The Latin American does not have to be a believer in *Hispanidad* or a *Falangista* to resent the abuse which Anglo writers have heaped upon the men who brought Europe's culture and civilization to the New World and laid the bases of future American societies. We would not be much less resentful in our feelings toward writers who would thus gratuitously attack our colonial heroes,

institutions, and ideals. Abandon the Black Legend for historical truth and many of the difficulties in the understanding and treatment of Latin America will be conquered! The age in which the Black Legend was born was one of intense nationalism and fierce religious antagonism. Neither of these attitudes of mind have place in the modern relationships which seek to create Inter-American friendship and cooperation.

Another of the Conclusions cautions against a falsification of the picture of Latin America and Latin Americans which is left in the mind of our students by an over-emphasis of "the picturesque in both words and pictures." This is applicable to elementary-level books in particular, but it can unwittingly creep into more advanced studies. The sooner we come to find out that Latin Americans are people like ourselves, the better we will be able to understand them. We have or have had our Puritans and our Western cowboys, but we would hardly wish foreigners to lump all the citizens of the United States into such atypical categories.

The committee complains that, perhaps, too much emphasis has been placed on the political and military angles of Inter-American relationships and too little on economic ties and cultural interchange. Points on which we American nations have disagreed and over which we have sometimes fought bulk much larger than the evidence for our cooperation, even prior to late decades. One other criticism should be mentioned, namely, the failure to include Latin America in many general or world historical treatments. This complaint is perfectly justified and should be given attention. The "Other Americas" just as much as ourselves are part and parcel of Western Civilization and have made significant contributions thereto, for which credit should be accorded.

Finally, the committee bewails the careless use of such terms as "dictator," "Creole," "revolution," and the like. If our writers knew a little more about Latin American thought habits and viewpoints much offense might be avoided. Again, it all adds up to one thing: We of the United States have no right to sit in judgment on the rest of the peoples of the globe; they have ideas and ideals, ways of doing things, which may be different from our own, but that fact does not render them useless nor subject to unenlightened criticism and scorn by us. Tolerance is a virtue which we of the United States might well practice elsewhere than at home.

#### *Textbook Corrections*

The Recommendations can be guessed, though some of them are excellently and convincingly stated. One might be noted, the call for more adequate materials concerning Latin America for use on the secondary-school level. The lack of these is one of the serious deficiencies which the survey brings to light. The matter deserves sound consideration, for that group of our students needs correct viewpoints as well as the grader and the collegian.

A brief excursion into two of the "topic chapters" would seem in order. The experts who worked over the United States history textbooks offer much interesting data on quantitative and qualitative coverage of points of contact between the histories of the two Americas, such points as the Monroe Doctrine, Intervention, the Panama Canal, economic relations, by way of example.

The writers offer as well a certain number of observations and suggestions which go beyond the textbook and might well be given serious thought by teachers themselves. Perhaps, our own viewpoints need rectification and correction, lest our presentation create warped impressions. Maybe we of the United States were not always so right as we once were taught. Texts for the elementary and the secondary levels could be much less nationalistic and, in that measure, much more correct and fair to Latin neighbors. Writers have missed numerous opportunities to include significant and not necessarily extraneous Latin American materials in their studies of the history of the United States.

One has reason to expect that textbooks dealing with Latin American history will be, on the whole, fair in treatment and sound in interpretation. The experts who surveyed this field of materials are of that opinion, but their chapter points to numerous phases of Latin American life which have received but passing treatment, if treatment at all, from the textbook writers. The political and foreign relations tend to overshadow the social, economic, religious, and cultural. This is particularly true in the national period. The authors of this chapter make some excellent suggestions, which will be helpful to the teacher, but one of these deserves special mention, namely the call for a sincere attempt at "horizontal" rather than "vertical" treatment of the national period. It is true that there are twenty Latin American republics, each very proud of its own achievements and sometimes emphasizing its different-ness from its neighbors, but underneath all there is much that is common to the Latin group as a whole. Perhaps, some of the tedium almost bound to result from the retailing of a score of individual national histories might be relieved by this "horizontal" approach. And it is possible that a truer picture would result from a study of the big, basic problems which all of those countries know, say economic development and relations, the presence of the Indian and the Negro, common social customs and manners, the pervading influence of the Catholic culture scheme, and so on.

The survey is an excellent piece of work and congratulations and gratitude are due the scholars who prepared it. Its facts, conclusions, and recommendations are valuable, but it has a use which surpasses this one of imparting information. The historian, at least, might take it as a basis for an examination of his conscience as teacher and writer. He may not be in a field which directly touches Inter-American relations, but he cannot help but profit by the keen analysis of that field presented in the survey. We all, from time to time, have to check on our attitudes, on our breadth of vision, on our standard of historical values. Do not miss this opportunity!

Circumstances made it impossible to include in this issue the Latin American bibliography promised by the Editor. This fact is regretted, but today one is not always master of the situation, particularly in the field of publication. One of the early issues of Volume XXIII will carry this critical listing of books and studies on the Latin American field.

# The Two Diegos and Other Problems

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*Editor's Note: This little study will interestingly exemplify the need for great care with detail in telling the Latin American story expressed by the committee whose work is reviewed on the editorial pages of this number.*

In 1940 the author enjoyed a stay in Trujillo City, the Capital of the Dominican Republic. While there it was his pleasure to visit the numerous historic monuments, visible reminders of colonial times, in which this West Indian metropolis abounds. Among the edifices of particular interest was the Torre del Homenaje.<sup>1</sup> It was in this fortress that a guide, quite ignorant of the facts of history, was proudly explaining to a group of tourists that Christopher Columbus had been confined in a room of the Torre by express orders of Francisco de Bobadilla before being sent to Spain in chains! The sincerity and enthusiasm of this native cicerone were amusing indeed. However, his story was not in agreement with the demands of Clio. The author pointed out to him certain discrepancies between his story and the facts of history; this only tended to arouse his ire. It brought the retort that it would be well to mind one's own business until such a time as "reliable" sources had been consulted. If this were done conscientiously the skeptic's intransigent attitude would no doubt undergo a change for the better.

Somewhat later the challenge was accepted. However, there has been no alteration of attitude. But the acrid criticism of the guide has become mollified. Subsequent research has revealed a plethora of most interesting viewpoints on this subject. Some of them are distorted, others ludicrous, and no few of them downright farcical. After all, the ill-informed Dominicano was no historian.

At the outset the sole reason for this little study was to prove that the Discoverer of America had never been imprisoned in the Torre del Homenaje. But while he was engaged in the exploration of this facet, a multiplicity of other minor historical inconsistencies was uncovered, and the writer went on to attempt to find the truth about them. While many of these might easily escape detection by readers unacquainted with the facts, nevertheless they distort the actual truth of the matter and hence, demand a reconsideration of several points of the Columbus story.

## *The Truth About Torre del Homenaje*

First, the question of the Torre del Homenaje. A popular publication in the Dominican Republic (*Turismo*, by Ramon González) displays a picture of this fortress and underneath one reads the following bit of misinformation: "The Torre del Homenaje, glorious fortress of the colonial period; constructed in 1503 by Christobal de Tapia. Within its walls Columbus was held prisoner by Bobadilla."<sup>1</sup> No doubt, the guide had gleaned his

knowledge from just such "reliable" sources. Now, in the first place, Christopher Columbus and his brothers, Bartholomew and Diego, were incarcerated in 1500. Actually the Torre was not built until 1503. And, even more unfortunately for the above historian, Bobadilla was drowned in 1502. In addition, the Torre is actually located in the ancient capital, Santo Domingo de Guzmán which itself did not exist in 1500.

In 1496, on August 4, Bartholomew Columbus, older brother of the Admiral, founded the city of Nueva Isabela on the southern coast of the island. This city served as the capital of Hispaniola or Espanola until 1502, at which time it was seriously damaged by a cyclone and, according to tradition, overrun by a plague of rats. At this latter date Fray Nicolàs de Ovando, the governor who had come over to replace the impetuous Bobadilla, decided to rebuild the city on the opposite side of the River Ozama. He christened the new settlement Santo Domingo de Guzmán, in honor of the saint's day and also, it is said, in memory of Columbus' father.

Jacques N. Léger, whom A. C. Wilgus calls "one of the foremost Haitian writers," expresses a contrary opinion apropos of Nueva Isabela: "Destroyed in 1502 by a cyclone, the town was, in 1504, reconstructed at the mouth of the same river by Ovando, who called it Santo Domingo, after Columbus' father."<sup>2</sup> A second Haitian historian, Thomas Madiou, confuses the story of the date of foundation by assigning that of 1494 as the beginning of Nueva Isabela.<sup>3</sup> But in that early year it is likely that Bartholomew had not as yet laid eyes on the future site for the colony's short-lived capital. He had just come from Spain, and conditions in Espanola were not conducive to large-scale exploratory expeditions about the island.

Thus Christopher Columbus and his two brothers were never incarcerated in the Torre del Homenaje. It did not exist soon enough for that. Nor did Bobadilla come to Santo Domingo de Guzmán, or ever live to see it. The construction of the town was begun after his demise. Moreover, it was built in 1502, not in 1504. And again, Bartholomew Columbus did not lay the foundations of Nueva Isabela in 1494, but in 1496. Madiou manages to include these and other inaccuracies in a single short paragraph, when he writes: "Bovadilla se rendit maître de Santos-Domingo et s'y fit reconnaître gouverneur général. Il fit mettre aux fers Christophe Colomb, et l'embarqua ensuite pour l'Espagne

de Ovando. The actual construction was begun in 1503 under the supervision of Cristobal de Tapia who was sent from Spain to oversee the work. Diego Columbus, the son of the Admiral, arrived at the Tower accompanied by his wife, Dona Maria de Toledo, on July 11, 1509. They lodged here while the famous Alcázar de Colon was being erected. This is the first time Diego ever saw the Tower. Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, the renowned Historian of the Indies, was Warden and Perpetual Alderman of the Torre. He died in it in 1557.

<sup>2</sup> J. N. Léger, *Haïti—Her History and Her Detractors*, 26, note 8

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Madiou, *Histoire d'Haïti*, 8

<sup>4</sup> García, *Compendio de la Historia de Santo Domingo*, I, 41-50

<sup>1</sup> The Torre de Homenaje or the Homage Tower is situated atop a large rock near the mouth of the Ozama River. It lies within the limits of the present military precinct of the Ozama Fortress. It was ordered to be built by Comendador Nicolás

avec Barthelemy et Diégo. Le navire arriva a Cadix le 25 novembre 1499."<sup>5</sup>

The Admiral, the Adelantado, and the Acting-Governor were up to brighter doings in 1499. There is no need to elaborate on the fact that Bobadilla was actually still in Spain at this time. Mischievous Roldán was causing serious trouble in the colony, and it would have been pleasing indeed to the Admiral to be on the Iberian Peninsula where he might plead his cause personally before the monarchs. But this was not the case. And it might be added that Dominican and Haitian writers are not alone in their confusion of the facts. Not a few Anglo-American historians are similarly confused.

Despite varying opinions to the contrary it would seem that the following details may be taken as correct: Nueva Isabela was founded by Bartholomew Columbus in 1496. It continued to be known by this name until its destruction in 1502. At this date Ovando ordered Santo Domingo de Guzmán to be built. The Columbus brothers were imprisoned in Nueva Isabela, whither Bobadilla came in 1500. The Torre del Homenaje was non-existent at this date (1500) and hence neither Bobadilla nor the Columbus brothers ever entered it.

#### *A Historical Problem Solved*

So much for the first question. But hardly was it settled to this writer's satisfaction when several more popped up in connection with the persons and events of these historic months of 1500 on Espanola. For example, the writer found the historians in considerable disagreement as to whom Bobadilla actually arrested. Investigation revealed information more interesting and more confused than in the preceding instance. Thus was born the problem of The Two Diegos.

Wilgus writes: "The harsh rule of Bartholomew Columbus had proved very unsatisfactory and Francisco Roldán (ca. 1450-1502), the chief judge of the colony, had revolted and plotted the death of Bartholomew and Diego (1474-1526), the son of Columbus."<sup>6</sup> And it is this Diego whom Wilgus later describes as having been arrested by Bobadilla. Actually the son Diego was not in Espanola at the moment and the Diego arrested was the younger brother of Columbus. But this confusion has crept into the works of other writers. Chapman describes the events in the following short sentence: "He (Columbus) was relieved of his command in 1500, and the new Governor, Francisco de Bobadilla, arrested him, his brother Bartholomew, and his son Diego, put them in irons, and sent them to Spain."<sup>7</sup> R. H. Fitzgibbon states: "Columbus was tried on charges which had been filed against him and with his son and brother was returned to Spain in chains."<sup>8</sup> One of the latest and purportedly most authentic guidebooks to the Latin American Republics treats this incident in the same way, "Bobadilla imprisoned Columbus, his brother, and his son, and sent them to Spain."<sup>9</sup> A more bizarre presentation of the affair may be

found in the *Encyclopedia of Latin America*, now out of date in more ways than one, which informs its readers that "the cultivation of sugar cane began in 1506; three years later Columbus and Bartholomew Columbus were imprisoned by Bobadilla in the citadel of Santo Domingo."<sup>10</sup> Diego is overlooked. The other errors of the statement hardly need underlining, when one remembers that Bobadilla was drowned in 1502 and that Columbus died in Spain in 1506.

John Boyd Thatcher, one of the recognized biographers of Christopher Columbus, holds that the Diego of the incident is the younger Columbus brother. "Each obstacle and every delay set his face (Bobadilla) harder against the Admiral, the Adelantado, and Don Diego, the youngest brother."<sup>11</sup> Samuel Eliot Morison, the most recent writer on the great Admiral, mentions the three brothers. Regarding their struggle with Bobadilla he writes: "At the beginning of October 1500 the admiral was put aboard the caravel *La Gorda* and sent home to Spain. . . . Don Diego was with him, also in chains; but Bartholomew seems to have been sent home on another ship."<sup>12</sup> Practically all of the biographers of Christopher Columbus agree that Diego was the brother of the Discoverer and not his son — LaMartine, M. Robertson, Justin Winsor, A. G. Knight, Houben, Kennedy, Fiske, Washington Irving. This evidence, then, when sifted, drives one to the conclusion that Bobadilla arrested Christopher Columbus and his two brothers. It is strange how such details can escape the attention of fine historians.

Another problem grows out of conflicting accounts of the arrest and its sequel. Oftentimes this particular episode is offered to readers with considerable authority and with illustrations. Many of these latter would seem to be misleading. A favorite shows the captain of the caravel, presumably Andrés Martín, exhorting the Admiral to allow him to strike off the fetters. Plunged in grief and concealing their faces, so as to escape recognition, the two brothers crouch behind the Discoverer. Another is the scene of the illustrious mariner, chains dangling from his hands which are clasped between his knees. Columbus looks dejectedly at the ocean waves through a square aperture in the wall of his floating dungeon. But this last illustrator has denied him the consolation of kith and kin.

Historians disagree as to whether the three brothers were sent to Spain on the same ship. Great disparity of opinion also exists relative to the Good Samaritan who attempted to remove the chains enslaving the Admiral. Columbus himself is the most reliable witness. Thatcher gives a dialogue between the Admiral and Alonso Vallejo, which would seem to prove that the latter desired to relieve the strain of the Discoverer by removing the offending bonds. The prominent Dominican authoress, Carmita Landestoy, backs this opinion: "Se incauta Bobadilla de todos los papeless así como de los bienes de los Colones y todos son detenidos y engrillado el Almirante, sin tomarle siquiera declaración alguna. . . . Bobadilla decide enviar a Christobal

(Please turn to page eighty-four)

<sup>5</sup> Madiou, *op. cit.* 9.

<sup>6</sup> A. C. Wilgus, *The Development of Hispanic America*, 872

<sup>7</sup> C. E. Chapman, *Colonial Hispanic America*, 16

<sup>8</sup> R. H. Fitzgibbon, *Visual Outline of Latin American History*, 20

<sup>9</sup> Antonio J. Colorado, *Dominican Republic, New World Guides to the Latin American Republics*, Earl P. Hanson, Ed. I, 4

<sup>10</sup> John Boyd Thacher, *Christopher Columbus*, II, 420

<sup>11</sup> S. E. Morison, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea*, II, 303

<sup>12</sup> E. S. Ellis, *The Youths' History of the United States*, I, 27

# Retreat Madre of Colonial Argentina

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THINGS went pretty much to pieces in many places when the Jesuits were suppressed in the Spanish colonies in 1767 by decree of the Spanish King, Carlos III. For one thing, the Jesuit missions were left without good pastors, so that the sheep dispersed and the mission buildings fell to ruins. This was not the case everywhere, but was very much the case in the famous Reductions of Paraguay and in the missions of the Argentine. Intellectual light also faded in centers of culture. Buenos Aires was for years without higher education after the Jesuits left and their flight from Cordoba, Santa Fe, Corrientes, Santiago del Estero and Salta left the colleges desolate and declining.

## *Madre Antula*

And now rises up a famous woman, famous at least in the Argentine, and worthy of knowledge and respect also in North America since she belongs to the hemisphere. For when the Jesuits were expelled this lady, María Antonia de la Paz y Figueroa (Madre Antula, for short) took up a part of their work. She became in Argentina an apostle of the Spiritual Exercises, winding up in Buenos Aires with the fame of a great apostle and dying with the reputation of a saint.

María Antonia was born in 1730 in Silípica, a town of the central Argentine province of Santiago del Estero. She became a spiritual daughter of the Jesuit Fathers and under their direction often made the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius. Although she did not enter the cloister, Maria adopted, nevertheless, the austere life of a virgin consecrated to God. She was thirty-seven years old and living in Santiago del Estero when her spiritual fathers were expelled. Meditating upon the calamity, she felt a call to continue their work so far as it lay in her powers to do so, and, subsequently she resolved to devote herself to the spread of the knowledge and use of the Exercises of Ignatius Loyola. She began her apostolate in 1768, a year after the Jesuit expulsion.

María Antonia made her initial start in Santiago del Estero by getting some women together and herself putting them through the exercises. Then she got groups of men together and looked about for priests to give them the conferences and to hear their confessions. Two Mercedarians were willing to cooperate, Joaquín Nis and Diego de Toro. The movement took hold in the little town, and after a few months larger quarters than the two rooms originally used had to be sought for. By an irony of fate, the place ultimately possessed by the lady for her work was the old Jesuit college from which the fathers had but yesterday been expelled. A Dominican became interested, an ex-provincial in his order, Fray Diegode Toro, and promoted the movement vigorously, preaching the Exercises, often in the former Jesuit college, organizing the penitents and hearing their confessions. María Antonia, meantime, wearing a hair-shirt, worked in the kitchen, swept the rooms, greeted

incoming exercitants, and arranged the smooth carrying out of the order of the day.

## *Success and Expansion: Tucumán*

The work had become a marvelous success; its spiritual fruits were surprising. A lone woman had done more for the spiritual rejuvenation of Santiago del Estero than a whole community of Jesuits had formerly accomplished in many years past. A gentleman of position wrote in 1784 that this servant of God and daughter of the Company of Jesus was filled with the spirit of Loyola and had transformed the hearts of her fellow townspeople who venerated her as an apostle and saint.

The inevitable now occurred. María must be apostle to other towns; she must spread the good work to other places. And so, austere like a saint of old, barefoot, clad in the remnant of a Jesuit habit, carrying a staff which ended in a cross and accompanied by two other women, María trudged her way north to Tucumán.

## *Córdoba*

The Bishop of that old colonial center of Tucumán was at this time Manuel Moscoso y Peralta. In 1773 the bishop became an admirer of the work of María and devoted himself to its propagation. He gave the woman large privileges and offered spiritual favors to those who should make the Exercises under her direction. But it was probably in that pioneer Jesuit center of Córdoba, many miles south, that María obtained her most resounding success. Here great crowds flocked to make a retreat under her direction. In a letter to an ex-Jesuit in Europe, one of her former directors, she wrote that she had given fourteen retreats to groups numbering from two to three hundred persons. And she continues in her letter: "Through God's singular mercy there has been no difficulty in either housing or feeding such large crowds. Everything is provided for by alms spontaneously given. We put our trust in God alone. All the townspeople wish to make the exercises; when one group is signed up, the list for the following already begins to be filled." These were closed retreats, of course, and the silence preserved by the exercitants was absolute with the rigorism of the Spaniard of former days. A contemporary, Ambrosia Funes, wrote in 1784 that it was impossible to put in words the marvels which were being wrought in Córdoba by this woman whom he calls "la Beata de los ejercicios," the Blessed of the Exercises. And the people of Córdoba wondered at the spiritual pulse which was throbbing through their city.

## *Buenos Aires*

People now began to urge the lady to go to Buenos Aires, already the great metropolis of the Argentine, and the seat of the Viceroy of La Plata. She herself began to feel that much good could be done in the great colonial capital. On foot, therefore, she trudged the thousand miles to the southeast to Buenos Aires, which sits proudly on the banks of the Rio de la Plata. She reached that city in September, 1779. But neither Viceroy Vertiz nor Bishop Malvar would consider giving any

permissions to María Antonia for carrying on her work. She was reduced, therefore to inactivity, and for eleven months she gave herself to the practices of a purely contemplative life.

Then the break came. In 1780 there arrived in town a Carmelite friar from the provinces. He was loud in his praises of the sanctity and the sanctifying work of María in Córdoba and other localities in the north. Viceroy and bishop were impressed; they withdrew their opposition and the lady again began to work. There follows the same success, the same fervor and enthusiasm, the same spiritual changing of the face of the city. Other women joined the madre in her work. In the course of years she built an convent and a house of retreats on ample grounds. Over fifty rooms faced upon two patios; two chapels were provided, one for the retreatants, one for the women who had formed themselves into a community of nuns. The place became a sort of spiritual Mecca. Don Isidoro Lorea, a witness in 1788, wrote that he had seen as many as four hundred persons making the exercises here at the same time. The madre herself informs us that within the first fifteen months of her work in Buenos Aires the Spiritual Exercises of ten days' length had been given to thirty-four groups, amounting in all to 6,800 persons. Just as it was the people who came to the mother's assistance in the building of the house and convent, so they also came to the continued support of the expenses of the establishment. Thirty thousand pesos a year were expended. No one knew whence the money came; the providence of God seemed to be wholly on María Antonia's side.

Both sexes made these exercises, the men alternating with the women. Classes made them distinctly. Fathers would come together with their sons, and then mothers with their daughters. Then came men servants with their sons, the women servants with their daughters, the most important men of state came here to renew themselves spiritually, many of these were to be the leaders of independence, consequently, if so many of the fathers of Argentine independence were men of fine and honorable calibre, it was in great part due to the fact that they had been formed in the school of the Spiritual Exercises as given in Buenos Aires in the house of Mother María Antonia de la Paz y Figueroa. If we examine the lives of such patriots of independence as Castelli, Moreno, Saavedra, Rivadavia, Larrea, Belgrano and many others, we shall see that they were among the thousands who were formed spiritually in this blessed house.

#### *Life After Death*

The end of the century saw the death of this able and energetic woman of God. She passed to her reward in 1799, but upon earth her work was continued. She had founded four houses of retreats in Buenos Aires, Montevideo, Córdoba and Santiago del Estero respectively. The foundation in Buenos Aires is still filled with her nuns; retreatants still come to make the exercises there. The convent and the retreat house are become an historical monument and are revered by the city. And though her tomb has been removed to the dignified stone temple of La Piedad where her admirers raised

a fitting monument to her memory, the great lady still lives in spirit in the house which she founded. Here may be seen the spot where she died; here in the staff topped by a cross which she used to carry in her travels; here an old Madonna of her's formerly belonging to the Jesuits; here an image of the Child Jesus sent to her from Rome by the ex-Jesuit Juarez, here the finely carved wooden altar, a gift to her from Viceroy Vertiz. There are many other personal belongings of the noble lady preserved with loving care and veneration in the convent.

Exiled Jesuits in Europe learned of María Antonia's work and were astounded. Here was a woman who after their own exile carried on a part of their own work with far grander success than they had ever been able to realize. It seemed a distinct providence of God and a partial solace for the loss of these fields of their apostolate. When they wrote to her, she answered in accents of a spiritual and ardent spirit. This correspondence became famous and was read by holy people and servants over the face of Europe. And, with a touch of the dramatic, the last Jesuit Provincial superior of Paraguay, Father Domingo Muriel, was one of her principal correspondents. Modern Jesuits have helped keep her memory alive. There is a biography by Father Justo Beguiristain and a large volume of life and letters by Father Jose Maria Blanco. In December, 1930 the Jesuits of *Colegio del Salvador* celebrated a literary academy in her honor, and in October, 1943, the artists of the city of Buenos Aires honored her by an exposition of paintings of incidents taken from her life, displayed in the art museum, Galería Müller. The cause of María Antonia de la Paz y Figueroa has been introduced in Rome and some day she may be a canonized saint of the church.

## The Two Diegos

(Continued from page eighty-two)

Colon a Espana y lo embarco con los grillos puestos, al cuidado de Alonso Vallejo."<sup>13</sup>

Historians in general hold this view. However, some explicitly state that it was Andrés Martín who volunteered to perform this noble gesture. Barnardo Pichardo writes: "Colon engrillado fué conducido a la carabela *Gorda* cuyo capitán, Andrés Martín, quiso quitarle los grillos."<sup>14</sup>

#### *The Beginning of Trouble*

In conclusion, discarding the contradictions and misstatements previously noted, the facts concerning the detention and exile from Hispaniola of the three Columbus brothers may be summed up somewhat as follows:

Complaints of mismanagement and skulduggery perpetrated by the Columbus triumvirate in the colony were daily reaching the ears of those attached to the court of Spain. The principal adversary of the Admiral, and the other two Conquistadores, was Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca, Bishop of Burgos. He counselled the Catholic Monarchs to designate a *pesquisidor* to inquire into the upset state of affairs in Hispaniola and to punish the

(Please turn to page ninety-one)

<sup>13</sup> Carmita Landestoy, *Temas Historicos*, 47-48

<sup>14</sup> Bernardo Pichardo, *Resumen de Historia Patria*, 23-24

# The Glory that was Portobelo

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SOME eighteen miles northeast of Colon, in the Republic of Panama, lies the village of Portobelo. Early in the morning one sails away from Colon, the symbol of modern commerce, the city with a present and a future, to visit the beautiful harbor of Portobelo, a tragic monument to the mighty Spanish galleons and the busy commercial fairs.

As the boat approaches, one is impressed by the security of the harbor and the beauty of the landscape. With that some tourists may be satisfied, but really to know Portobelo, it is necessary to roam its irregular streets, to explore the grass-covered ruins, and to recall its past while resting on the ancient benches.

Columbus first touched these shores on November 2, 1502, and named the spot Portobelo, because of its fine harbor, the best in the Indies. Heavy rains forced him to remain there seven days. Even at that time he was impressed by the number of natives in canoes who came to trade fine spun cotton for some trifles like iron-points and pins. The real discoverer, however, was Rodrigo de Bastidas who, had come the year before from the east and explored as far as the present day Colon. He was interested only in commerce.

The exaggerated tales of these explorers, the gold Columbus found in Veragua, and the samples of this precious metal brought from San Blas to Spain by Bastidas aroused the Spanish King in 1513 to baptize the isthmus "Castillo de Oro;" it was later called "Tierra Firme." This was the place nature had marked as the center for the Spanish discovery, conquest and colonization of Central and South America.

Settlements sprang up on the coasts, Panamá Viejo on the west and Nombre de Dios on the east. The latter was named by Diego de Nicuesa when, in 1510, he exclaimed, "Detengamonos aquí en nombre de Dios." For fifty years this served as the eastern port; but since the site was unhealthy and the harbor unsheltered, Phillip II became concerned about a change of location. In 1586 the celebrated Italian engineer, Juan Bautista Antonelli, was sent out to examine the Caribbean ports. He it was who recommended the change from Nombre de Dios to Portobelo and made the plans for the city. This change was not completed until March 20, 1597, when Don Francisco de Valverde y Mercado became the governor.

The location of Portobelo is excellent. It is shaped like a half moon, with points in the east and west. The port could shelter 300 galleons and one thousand small vessels, and there was room besides for two thousand ships outside the forts. To defend his mighty galleons Phillip II had constructed here four forts or *castillos*: San Felipe, called the "Iron Fort" by the British, Santiago, San Jerónimo and San Cristóbal.

## *Commercial Glory*

From earliest times interoceanic traffic has been extremely active on the isthmus. For this purpose they early used the Camino Real, with the western terminus

of the trans-Isthmian land route at Panama and the eastern at Portobelo. Annually the fleet of ships loaded with goods ordered by the American merchants set out from Spain and stopped at Cartagena, in the present Colombia. As soon as the word was received at Portobelo of the approach of the galleons, the news was sent on to Callao, the port of Lima, Peru. From Callao the Pacific fleet then set out with its precious cargo of gold, silver, cacao, quina bark, and vicuna wool. At Panamá the ships were emptied and the merchandise carried on the backs of mules and negro slaves over the difficult road to Portobelo.

By that time the Spanish galleons had arrived from Cartagena. What a change took place in the little town of Portobelo. In the plazas, in the streets and even on the shores, tents and tiny shops sprang up like magic. Hundreds of merchants were busily bargaining for the best prices. The housing problem became magnified a hundred-fold. Outlandish rents were demanded. Owners of mules, slaves and boats laid away their profits for the year. These annual fairs in "The Emporium of the Riches of Two Worlds" lasted for at least forty days. Then Portobelo was again abandoned and the permanent residents were allowed to enjoy the calm of the following months.

All was not calm in those months however. Portobelo was always the magnet for the pirates from England, France, and Holland, anxious to rival or even to surpass the exploits of Drake and his fellows on that shore. During the seventeenth century the boldness of these plunderers was at its height. Voltaire, in characterizing them at a later date, said, "Imagine tigers gifted with reason and you will have the pirates." Women feared the very name of them, yet when one finally set eyes on one of these buccaneers, she exclaimed, "Why these thieves look the same as the Spanish!"

Sir Francis Drake was fired with the desire to capture the strong forts of Portobelo but its waters became the grave of this disappointed seaman and rascally pirate. William Parker came in 1602, Henry Morgan in 1669, Coxon and La Sound in 1679, and Edward Vernon in 1739.

The forts of Portobelo might have been continued to withstand the attacks of all pirates, but the relentless hand of time, with its inevitable changes, deprived her of her commercial glory. In 1739 a fleet of merchant ships came up from Callao, but upon arriving at Panama and learning that Portobelo was in the hands of the English under Vernon, they turned back to Buayaquil. The longer but safer route around Cape Horn grew in importance after that. This indeed was hard on people who lived on the unstable business of annual fairs and transporting of goods.

The *golpe de gracia* was given on January 27, 1855, when Jorge M. Tolten laid the last rail in the trans-Isthmian railroad at the station in Panama City. This railroad with the eastern terminus at Colon, "the city

without a history," caused the complete and final ruin of Portobelo, the city with the glorious commercial past.

When one probes a bit more deeply among the grass-covered ruins, one feels that, although the commercial glory that was Portobelo has vanished, there is another glory connected with its past, which, although dim, still exists.

The Reverend Father Felix M. Monasterio, C. M. F. in his booklet *Portobelo, Investigaciones Historicas*, has opened an interesting way for historians and archeologists. One could follow him along fascinating paths to discoveries of great historic and religious interests.

The tourist hears often of the processions of the "Black Christ" in October, and in peace time he makes the excursion more or less out of curiosity. Unintentionally he may offend with his questions. Once the little old sacristan, when asked about the "Black Christ," answered rather vehemently in Spanish, "El Cristo es el Cristo, no hay dos."

#### *Religious Glory*

There have been carefully preserved in Portobelo from generation to generation fragments of tradition that tell us of the fervent worship their ancestors rendered to the Blessed Sacrament. A connecting link with that glorious past is a beautiful monstrance of gold and silver with precious stones still preserved among the treasures of the parish church.

There have been many noble ladies all over the world who have fervently and generously given their jewels to make a more fitting earthly abode for Christ. It is not beyond the limits of imagination to suppose that such a one once lived in Portobelo. Fortunately there was also found a worthy goldsmith, named Llama. Stories have even been handed down that his shop was in the house of Capitán Don Pedro Ayarza, on Merced Street between the Merced Convent and the brook called Guinea. There with the precious metals and fine stones he fashioned this exquisite throne. There is no document to determine the date. Inside the pedestal there is simply "Propiedad del presbítero, Pedro Crisologo de Ayarza."

Naturally a treasure attracts a thief. Many times this monstrance was in danger from the pirates and revolutionists. Even the blundering hands of apprentices marred its beauty in attempting repair work. Later Father Monasterio himself turned it over to a skillful jeweler, Pedro A. Aldrete in Panama. Thanks to the ability of this clever smith, Portobelo today is still the proud possessor of this link to her glorious religious past.

There are foundations for the tradition of the fervent worship of the Blessed Sacrament. There is in existence today a letter from Portobelo addressed to His Excellency Fray Bernardo Serrada, bishop of Panama (1720-1725). It was directed to His Excellency by Capitán Don Juan Antonio de la Puente, "mayordomo" of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament of the Church of San Felipe of Portobelo, and the twenty other signers. In it they state since time "immemorial" they had maintained the Confraternity without adherence to the number of members required and without a constitution. Since an organization had been founded

in the Cathedral of Panama, with the specified number and with laws and regulations, the small irregular group in Portobelo wished to become participants of the benefits and to learn the proper rules.

The answer to this letter is preserved too. It furnishes interesting data, although it is illegible in part. The bishop explained the purpose that His Holiness Paul III had in founding in the Convent of the Order of St. Dominic, called "de la Minerva" in Rome, the privileged brotherhood of the Blessed Sacrament. The ten statutes were added. The first requires that the membership be seventy-two in memory of the seventy-two disciples of Christ. The number at Portobello would not be specified, since the parish was so small they could not be assured of seventy-two. The fourth statute mentioned the special feast days and days for processions.

Of this traditional worship little is left today except the colorful observance of the feast of Corpus Christi. On this day the beautiful monstrance is used, and the miraculous figure of the Nazarene bearing His cross made of dark wood, the "Black Christ," is reverently born along the stony streets. This tragic figure seems to emerge triumphantly above the ruins and to make relive those times when Portobelo was "Key to the Isthmus, and Emporium of Commerce, and the Queen of the Caribbean." Best of all shows the permanence of religion and gives one a bit more faith and hope for future guidance in this crossroads of the world where so many elements meet and where understanding and tolerance are essential.

## Latin American Literature

(Continued from page seventy-six)

### *Latin America and the Indian*

Literature then can help the historian fathom the psychological complexities of a given people in Latin America. Frequently he will find in it rich material that will cast light on some particular problem such as, let us say, that of the Indian. It does not suffice to trace the history of this problem and then candidly conclude that it is a thorny one; it behooves the historian to have at least a passing acquaintance with the interesting body of writings that have slowly been accumulating on the Indian.

What for example do Latin Americans think about the Indian? What do they intend to do for him? It is interesting to note that in consonance with the general attitude prevalent in the past toward the Indian, his place in literature up until the last century was nil. One does not write books of imagination about cows, and in as much as Indians were often considered hardly better, writers paid little heed to them. Toward the middle of the century, however, largely under the influence of Chateaubriand and James Fenimore Cooper, a number of novels made an appearance, which pointed to a growing interest in the Latin American Indian. Among these, the best is Mera's *Cumandá*, a sentimental novel much in the style of Chateaubriand's *Atala*. For the first time in literature the Indian is viewed with interest; but that interest is exotic and confined to the more picturesque elements of his existence. Rousseauistic is the sympathy

evoked by the author; how good the savage is! how cruel and corrupt civilization! But no attempt is made in nineteenth century fiction to grapple seriously with the real problems. In general then, the picture presented by Mera is no more penetrating than that offered by the colonial poet Ercilla in his *Araucana*.

#### *Causes of Social Awakening*

It is not until the twentieth century that there is an awakening in writers of an interest that goes beyond that of curiosity. Three important events are responsible for the social awakening in Latin American writers: The Spanish American War, the Mexican Revolution, and the First World War.

The Spanish American War had the effect of jolting Latin America into awareness of its nineteenth-century humdrum feudal existence and of the modern machine age that had suddenly risen in the outside world. The immediate reaction of its intellectuals was one of surprise, shock and resentment, which took forceful expression in a number of writings. Most of these were directed against the United States because of our unwarranted move of imperialistic aggression. Men like the gifted Manuel Ugarte devoted a lifetime of effort to warning their fellow-Latin Americans of the peril from the North. His *Destiny of a Continent* coined and made famous the expression "Colossus of the North." Other talented writers such as Rufino Blanco-Fombona joined him in discrediting the Yankee Caliban.

But almost at the same time and running parallel to these severe attacks upon United States foreign policy, there gradually appeared a number of works in which outstanding thinkers of the day began to play the searchlight of criticism upon Latin America itself. The process of self-examination that started at the beginning of the twentieth century has gained momentum and has brought forth some interesting results.

José Enrique Rodó, for instance, while fully aware of the physical threat from the United States, asked himself whether Latin America did not stand to lose something more important than sovereignty, if the Northern Republic continued to invade the countries to the South with its economic imperialism. More important, indeed, Rodó concluded in his masterful *Ariel*, would be the loss of the noble and "generous enthusiasm, the high and disinterested motive in action, the spirituality of culture, the vivacity and grace of intelligence, the ideal terminus to which human selection ascends." The invasion by North American materialism would do away with all this. "I implore you," he says to the youth of Latin America, "to defend yourselves against the mutilation of your minds by the tyranny of a sole and interested objective. Never cede to utility more than a small part of yourselves. For even within a material slavery there lies the possibility of saving one's inward freedom; that of reason and feeling."

The Mexican Revolution proved to be of even greater importance than the Spanish American War, for it assumed in the minds of intellectuals significance transcending by far that of an open rebuttal of foreign imperialisms. In it they saw a new salubrious, regenerative force. In the words of Haya de la Torre, the Mexican Revolution represents a revolt against a feudal tyranny

and imperialism by three classes—the peasant, working class, and middle class. According to him, it stands out in the history of social struggles as "the first victorious effort of an Indo-American people against the double feudal and imperialistic oppression." (*El Antimperialismo y el Apra*). The leader of Aprismo views it as the first step in a more extensive revolt of the masses, and especially the Indian, against the oppression of the past. The Indian, the underdog, will resume his place in Latin American life that rightfully belongs to him. Economy must be restored to the old Indian patterns, which remain the basic ones in most of the twenty republics (according to Haya de la Torre, where it is not so, the Indian pattern will be superimposed) and a new Indo-American civilization will arise, in which the Indian will lead a self-respecting and useful existence.

Other writers joined Haya de la Torre in redirecting interest toward the Indian of Latin America. Vasconcelos has contributed considerable effort in his three studies *Indologia*, *La Raza cosmica* and *Los Pueblos iberoamericanos*. In the latter opus, he takes Latin Americans to task for having neglected so long the excellent indigenous human material found at home and for aping instead the effete ways of France and England. "There is no more lamentable case," he protests, "than that of all of our Spanish America, engaged for a whole century in becoming Gallicized and Anglicized as though there did not exist in our own blood material capable of redemption and of splendor. It is not by means of copying foreign manners and customs that one can regenerate a race, but by cutting at the root the abuses which are the cause of our backwardness."

Finally, there is the leaven provided by World War I, which brought with it a sharp severance with the past and hope for a new and better world. This break with the past is especially evident in poetry, which up until about the first decade of this century favored a movement known as Modernismo. With Modernismo, the chief exponent of which was the great Nicaraguan, Rubén Darío, the poet withdrew from the world of materialism, which shocked his sensitivity, into a more beautiful world of fantasy created out of his imagination. Thus Darío's poems, especially the earlier ones, written in the nineteenth century, are peopled by fairy princesses who live in exquisite marble palaces. A gentle, suave melancholy runs through this poetry. Thus did the poets react to the materialism that vaguely oppressed them and inspired them with uneasiness and melancholy. But they did not offer any solution to the problems which indirectly assailed them, for their program was a negative one. If they were dissatisfied with their environment, they simply withdrew from it, built castles in the air and wrote poetry for the sake of its beauty.

#### *The Dawn of a New Spirit*

Under the pressure of the three major events mentioned above, however, some poets saw that the attitude of the Modernists was utterly ineffectual and that their ostrich-like pose solved nothing. They, therefore, rejected Modernismo and sought a more tangible and positive solution. Instead of fleeing from the problems, they wished to grapple with them, and like the essayists of whom we have spoken, re-examine their past and the

world about them. Because these poets directed attention to the American soil they came to be known as the New Worldists. Outstanding among these men is the Peruvian poet, José Santos Chocano, who writes of the Conquistadors and the Incas. The following lines from "Blazon," one of his best known poems, will give some idea of the new direction that poetry had taken:

Of native, savage America I sing;  
My lyre has a soul, my song a lofty aim . . .  
As Inca, I render to the Sun, my king,  
Due homage, and his powerful scepter claim;  
When forth, as Spaniard, colonial times, I bring,  
My lines like crystal trumpets seem to flame . . .  
The blood is Spanish, Incan its pulsation;  
And were I not a Poet by vocation,  
I'd wear the white Corsair's or red Chief's glamour.

A vigorous protest against the enslavement of the Indian is registered by the same poet in a truly moving poem entitled "Three Notes of Our Indigenous Spirit":

O Indian, thou who laborest hard  
On fields that other masters own,  
Dost thou not know that by thy blood  
And sweat they should be thine by right?  
Dost thou not know that ages since  
Audacious greed snatched them from thee?  
Dost thou not know thou art the master?

Nowadays, New Worldism has been superseded by a newer type of objectivity, which directs attention more immediately to present-day needs. Few are the poets writing today who are not making a searching examination of the world they inhabit. A number of them are frankly disgusted with the dull, useless, futile life that has taken hold of the Latin American world and are attacking it bitterly. Thus, Ramón López Velarde, of Mexico, turns to ridicule the boring life of his country's provinces, while the Colombian poet, Luis Carlos López, dreaming all the while of the glory once enjoyed by his native city, Cartagena, pours vitriol on the corruption and filth that throttles its present-day existence. He execrates the provincial mayor who with "his dirty, high-crowned panama," and silken tricolor sash, big-bellied as Hugh Capet, "displays his bulldog profile through the village." For his wife, "a pretty, high-strung girl," who "has her hooks in him," reads greasy, sentimental novels, sports gaudy, glass beads, and uses eyebrow pencil, he shows biting scorn. Or else he will attack the politician and liken him to a wretched dog:

O wretched dog,  
Still living off the garbage can—  
Like some politician—and afraid of  
The surprises of the broomstick!  
("To a Dog")

More acutely aware of the oppression suffered by the underdog is the Chilean poet, Vicente Huidobro, who speaks of

the day of great triumph  
When men shall hear the hour of man singing  
When no one will live from the strength born in the  
breasts of others  
When no one will be nourished on the flesh of others  
Nor breath through the lungs of others  
Nor tie up his trousers with a slave's guts.  
("Serenade of Laughing Life")

But the problem of inequality and oppression has been attacked much more vigorously and consistently by the novelists. Among the novels inspired by the Mexican Revolution, *The Underdogs* (*Los de Abajo*) has especial appeal for the historian. Written by Dr. Mariano Azuela, a physician, who travelled about with the armies attending the needs of the wounded, it is the prose epic of the Mexican Revolution. The hero is the poor peon, Demetrio Macías, who, outraged when his home is burned down by some government troops, joins the ranks of the rebels in order to seek revenge. In the revolution Macías comes to see a means of restoring justice and peace to the country he loves. Because of his courage, he rises rapidly to the rank of general. Then one day he returns home with a handful of his men. He is asked by his wife why he is drawn to a life of blood and death. His only answer is to throw a stone down a precipice and to remark that it never seems to stop. This is his graphic way of explaining that once you have fought in the revolution you must continue fighting, for its spirit has caught hold of you and will not release its grasp except in death. And it is thus that Macías is released. He is overpowered in his home town together with his men and killed.

Men like Macías see in the Revolution an ideal devoid of all personal considerations. But that is not the case of the many others, among them the generals, who sell out their men, for whom the revolution is an instrument to be used for quick personal gains.

The Indian has received of late increasing attention by novelists. *El Indio* by Gregorio López Fuentes draws a full-length portrait of his silent misery and suffering in Mexico and of the greed of the white man. The epic of his exploitation in Peru has been recorded by the young novelist Ciro Alegría in *Broad and Alien is the World* (*El Mundo es Ancho y Ajeno*, 1941). Alegría is the outstanding novelist of the Indian in South America; in his suffering he sees great dignity. This prize-winning novel is of particular interest because it openly espouses the Aprista cause. The author pictures the losing struggle of Rumi, a community that still retains the old Incan economic and social patterns, against the white man's attempts to dismember it in order to enrich himself.

I presume that the increased interest in the study of Latin American history is owing to the impulse provided by the Good Neighbor Policy. If that is the case, then the historian must strive to present as sympathetic a picture as possible of our Latin American friends. I would venture to say, therefore, that his task can be greatly lightened, while the results achieved can be made more fruitful, if he will take the trouble to fill in his skeleton with the meatier substance of Latin American literature.

## Geographic Factors

(Continued from page seventy-eight)

These Conquistadores were not "softies;" they did not seek wealth and adventure the easy way. But greed or grim determination helped little to alleviate the discomfort of men who were not acclimated to this new, stern environment.

Following game or Indian trails, if and wherever possible, they found the air cooler and the march more bearable as they climbed to higher levels.

Upon the interior plateaus they received the reward for their dogged perseverance, the wealth of the Aztecs, Chibchas, and Incas. Here, the Indian people were concentrated in patterns of isolated groups, dependent upon irrigation, agriculture and mining. These heavily populated "spots" facilitated the Spanish conquest, because large numbers of Indians to be used for gold and silver mining were captured with comparative ease.

Later, with the coming of the frailes and the padres, who not only converted the Indian to Christianity but also brought the advanced techniques of European civilization, a new type of agriculture was developed. Mediterranean cereal crops, grapes, and citrus fruits from the monastery gardens in Spain were at first grown by "trial and error" method. When the choice of Old World crops was in harmony with New World climatic and soil conditions, the new type of agriculture began to thrive. Sugar cane from the West Indies and Portuguese Atlantic islands was introduced in the humid lowlands of the continent, but the plateau Indians relegated to forced labor on the plantations could not endure the heat. So Negroes from the African Guinea Coast were imported as slave laborers in lowland areas and the Indian became the laborer in upland mines and fields.

### *Southern Latin America*

Spaniards who came to temperate Latin America often had to face the other adverse climatic extreme, aridity. Entry into Chile in 1540 was made through the Central Valley. Here the Spaniards must have felt "at home." The Mediterranean climate of the Central Valley was a decided asset to west coast occupation. To the north lay the Atacama Desert; to the south were the dense forests of South Chile.

Northwestern Argentina, arid and forbidding, was settled by the "back door" method. Spaniards and Creoles crossed the lofty Andes to this arid, leeward side. People from the temperate plateaus of Peru settled there. Others from Asuncion crossed the western Chaco and joined the settlers. A few entered by way of the front door, through eastern Argentina, up the Rio de La Plata system and then overland. These people settled upon the fertile oases of Argentina's northwest. From the Andes reliable streams cascade from their snow-clad sources and flow across the sandy wastes. As the speed of these currents is checked upon reaching the mountain foothills, alluvium is deposited in the form of fans or cones. Here, in isolated spots, people began herding and oasis agriculture. To-day large oases producing grapes, sugar cane, or both are located at Jujuy, Salta, Tucumán, Córdoba, San Juan, Mendoza, and San Rafael.

Farther to the south and east to the grasslands of the Pampa and Patagonia came horsemen from Santa Fe or Asuncion. Wild cattle, offspring of earlier stock which escaped from a Plata settlement<sup>2</sup> wiped out by an Indian raid, roamed the Pampa at will. Contraband in hides made a later and more successful settlement, Buenos Aires, the entrepôt for Pampa and western oasis cattle products. Hides were smuggled by the gauchos to British buyers without "legally" passing through the hands of the Spanish governor.

Both Spaniards and Portuguese came to the lush, rolling pasture lands north of the Plata estuary, the present Uruguay. The Indians, vigorous, largely because of excellent climatic conditions, fiercely resisted the white men, but were finally decimated because of their intractability. Later settlers brought cattle and sheep in large numbers and even to-day the Uruguayan prefers the ease of ranching to the toil of field cropping and engages in agriculture "from the saddle."

### *Brazil*

Tropical Brazil's early development differed somewhat from that of the Spanish colonies of the Caribbean and Pacific coasts. The Portuguese were more interested in cabinet woods and agricultural products. Sugar cane was brought from the Madeira and Cape Verde Islands to Pernambuco. Indian labor was employed at first, but negro labor, as previously indicated, was more successful.

The hinterland of Brazil with its opportunities for new industrial development was "discovered" by Paulistas, who traveled to the interior seeking Indian slaves for the early sugar plantations. In 1690 gold was discovered at the site of the present Marro Belho mine, now one of the most productive in the world. The discovery resulted in a gold rush and the temporary abandonment of sugar plantations. Though not all were successful, the people became imbued with an adventurous spirit. Therefore, many remained to open up the grassland interior of south-central Brazil, the Campas, for the cattle industry.

The vast Amazon Basin, because of its dense forests, hostile natives, and enervating climate, was avoided, and to-day is one of Latin America's greatest "empty spots" as far as settlement and economic development are concerned. A few rubber plantations exist, but future possibilities are great.

### *Geography and Civilization*

So throughout Latin America's early periods of development the population pattern has remained one of isolated groups. And through the Period of Revolution and Independence, 1800-1825, each combination of isolated groups achieved independence separately and became a republic. And, although the sister countries had much in common—racial and historical background, language, and religion—isolation occasioned by topographic, climatic, or economic barriers kept them apart. Contacts established with European countries were often stronger than their relations with each other.

Occasionally, international disputes arose. Many were settled by arbitration, but on several occasions the republics resorted to war for the acquisition of natural

<sup>2</sup> This settlement was near the present site of Buenos Aires.

resources. The war of Chile against Peru and Bolivia, 1879-1883, was fought for nitrate, copper, and guano. Paraguay's disastrous War of the Triple Alliance, 1865-1870, was occasioned by Grancisco Solano Lopez in his desire to endow Paraguay with aggressive adolescent tendencies during her youthful stage of development. The recent war between Bolivia and Paraguay, 1932-1935, over northwestern El Chaco, was largely due to petroleum possibilities believed to exist within that region.

Unfortunately, too much of the past history of Latin America has been associated with bloodshed, revolution, poverty, ignorance, greed, exploitation and misunderstanding. Hence, there are many problems that confront those who wish to make her future history and development indicative of local and international cooperation.

First, let us consider the human factor. The population is sparse and widely distributed. Many people inhabit the continental margins. Others live on the high interior plateaus separated from the coastal settlers by rugged mountains or almost impenetrable lowlands. Still others inhabit interior oases surrounded by arid wastes.

With the exception of Argentina, Costa Rica, and Uruguay, the number of white people in proportion to colored are few. Many of the inhabitants of Latin America are pure Indians or mestizoes. There are some Negroes and Zambos.

Class distinction is pronounced. Many of the whites form a land-owning aristocracy. Failure to understand the Indian or mixed breeds has resulted in lack of unity. The system of land tenure is not conducive to much effort or ambition among the poorer class. No country has a literacy rate of over 65%; many are below 25%.

There is a decided need for an honest, alert, ambitious middle class. Immigrants who might bring new methods and ideas usually come to the most progressive countries, or they tend to settle in or near the cities, rather than in the peripheries.

Lack of proper food, clothing, housing, fuel, sanitation, and education render many poor people stolid and listless, with little thought of the future.

#### *Problems of Transportation and Communication*

Transportation and communication in their relation to industrial development present another major problem. In the world of to-day progress in transportation depends upon the railroad, airplane, automobile, and boat. Latin American railroads are few in number and poor in quality. There are only three important nets—Mexico, the coffee lands of southeastern Brazil, and the Pampa. A possible fourth is the system of Chile. In other regions short lines extend from coastal sections to the immediate interior, serving mines or plantations.

Another function of the railroad is that of an aid to river trade. Short lines have been constructed around series of waterfalls. Examples of this type are the Madeira-Mamore line around the Madeira Falls to complete an eastern route from Bolivia by way of the Amazon River; or the short railroad lines from the silt-clogged lower Magdalena River to Cartagena and Puerto Colombia.

Except in the Pampa and the coffee lands of Brazil,

railroad construction is costly. Without the aid of foreign capital even fewer lines would exist.

Latin American rivers function as did rivers of the eastern United States a century ago. Due to lack of more adequate overland routes they are still major arteries of trade, fraught with problems. There are four large river systems, the Amazon, Rio de La Plata, Magdalena, and Orinoco.

The Amazon, like many of the world's large rivers, fluctuates greatly, thirty to fifty feet from low to high stage. Therefore, facilities for loading and unloading goods along its course are poor. Its tributaries, flowing from the Guiana Highlands in the north, the Andine slopes in the west, and the Highlands of the Matto Grosso in the south, have many waterfalls which make traffic slow and costly, if not impossible.

The Rio de La Plata is meandering and is constantly depositing sand bars in the channel. At low stage, a seven- to nine-foot draft endangers large-scale navigation above 2,000 miles inland. Rosario and Santa Fe can accommodate boats with a draft of about 20 feet. The Magdalena of Colombia is so unreliable that goods are sent to seaports by rail, within a few miles of the silt-clogged mouth. Numerous waterfalls render traffic on the upper Orinoco slow and costly. Because of numerous falls, goods sent from Ciudad Bolivar to river outposts undergo transportation changes by nineteen different carriers.

Mountain trails and roads, though offering primitive and poor methods of transportation, have a part in the commercial economy of Latin America. In tropical lowlands and temperate uplands the mule and ox bear packs or draw heavily laden carts. Over the mountain trails the llama, the "camel of the Andes," sure of foot, acclimated to the cold, and accustomed to scanty forage, plays an important part in local transportation. Because of their thin skeletal frame, the pack must be light, 75 to 100 pounds. Human porters, rugged and bent, sometimes accompanying mule and llama trains, bear wool, foodstuffs, and even building materials.

An example of a route employing a cross section of Latin America's transportation facilities is the Northern Trail, a route across Peru from the Pacific, across the Andes mountains to the headwaters of the Amazon River at the western rim of its basin. This 1400-mile route presents the difficulty and variety of travel which requires about 30 days' time. It is laid out as follows: a) From the Port of Pascomayo to Chilete, a town on the western side of the Andes, there is a 65-mile trip by rail; b) From Chilete to Balsapuerto, across the main Andine mass, mule and porter relays carry the goods for 443 miles; c) from Balsapuerto to Yurimaguas on the upper Amazon River system the way is made by canoe for 105 miles. d) from Yurimaguas to Iquitos, on the upper Amazon, the launch is used for 452 miles.

#### *We of the United States*

So, to develop further Latin America, better means of transportation and communication must be established to relieve national and group isolation and facilitate the flow of trade. Better railroad facilities or more and

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## The Two Diegos

(Continued from page eighty-four)

Columbus brothers if the exigencies of the case necessitated such drastic action. Accordingly, Comendador Francisco de Bobadilla, official of the royal household and scion of an illustrious family, was entrusted with the task. He arrived at Nueva Isabela on Sunday, August 23, 1500. In the flotilla there were two ships expressly mentioned by name - *La Gorda* and *La Antigua*.

Alonso Vallejo, or de Vallejo, member of the retinue of a Sevillian *hidalgo* called Gonzalo Gomez de Cervantes, uncle of Bishop Rodríguez de Fonseca, was Commander of the fleet. Andrés Martín was *contramaestre*, boatswain or captain of *La Gorda*.

At the time of the arrival of the fleet at Nueva Isabela Christopher Columbus, the Viceroy and Governor General of the Islands and Tierra Firme, was at an inland town called Concepcion de la Vega, located in the Cibao district of the island. Diego Columbus, his younger brother, was acting-Governor of Nueva Isabela, and the eldest of the brothers, Bartholomew Columbus, was absent in Xaraguá, or Jaragua, another Indian province of Hispaniola.

When Bobadilla was rowed ashore on Monday, August 24, 1500, he met Diego Columbus. The latter was anxious about the presence of the ships, not on account of the inspector, but because he suspected that his nephew Diego, the Admiral's son, was on board one of the caravels. It turned out that he was not, and no further mention is made of him anywhere else throughout this whole proceeding.

### *Bobadilla's Measures*

Bobadilla displayed his royal *cédula* and forthwith deposed Diego Columbus. As a sign of authority this audacious judge immediately ordered the release from jail of Hernando de Guevara and Adrián de Mojica, the two main agitators in the colony whom Diego Columbus had incarcerated in the fortress of Nueva Isabela on charges of insubordination. The carcasses of other malcontents were dangling from trees at either end of the town. This sight also vexed the noble inquisitor. Incensed, he ordered an appraisal of all the royal properties, especially those of the Columbus clan, and he authorized the confiscation of the Admiral's own estate under the pretext of paying off back salaries of the local officialdom by selling the holdings.

After these demonstrations of absolute authority he undertook secret investigations preferring to believe the biased testimony of the Discoverer's enemies. Since Diego Columbus was the nearest within reach he, naturally, was the first to be imprisoned.

After the arrival of *La Antigua* and *La Gorda* no further mention is made of the former ship. This necessarily leaves the latter and the jailhouse as the places of confinement of Don Diego and his brothers. Guevara and Mojica had been released from the fortress of Nueva Isabela. They were dangerous characters and would have gone to any length to effect an escape. Also, there were numerous partisans in the capital who would have abetted them in flight had such been fea-

ible or possible. Thus Diego must have deemed the fortress a secure abode for them. Therefore it seems natural that Bobadilla would have sent Diego thither, rather than to *La Gorda*, which lay at anchor in the roadstead, and from which escape would have been easier, for they would be shielded by a mantle of darkness and aided by henchmen, who were always at hand and willing to cooperate for a tidy consideration.

### *Confinement of the Brothers*

The confinement of the brothers took place at intervals between September 1 and October 12, 1500, because on this latter day *La Gorda* sailed for Spain.

Christopher Columbus, as soon as he heard of Diego's arrest hastened to Nueva Isabela. At Bonao he was met by an *alcalde* who showed him papers confirming Bobadilla's status. Shortly afterwards Fray Juan de Trassiera and treasurer Juan Velázquez came upon the Admiral, and displayed letters to him from Their Royal Majesties appointing Bobadilla investigator for the crown. Undoubtedly this news caused the Discoverer to press on to the capital with renewed vigor. Many days could not have passed before he descended from the hills upon Nueva Isabela and confronted Bobadilla. The latter ordered his arrest and, burdening him with chains, had him confined in the fortress. The mariner himself confirms this incident. From his cell he wrote and dispatched a letter to Bartholomew, at Xaraguá, bidding him lay down his arms and surrender himself peaceably to Bobadilla. When the third brother arrived he was arrested and no doubt quartered in the jail for the same reason Diego was. If it could hold Christopher Columbus, it would certainly retain the other two. It should have been simple to keep them *incomunicado*, thus obviating the necessity of transferring any one of them to *La Gorda* until the day of departure.

Vallejo frequently visited the admiral in his cell. His connections with Gonzalvo Gomez de Cervantes and Bishop Rodríguez de Fonseca accounted for this fact. It should not have gone well with him were these choice prizes to have escaped their impending doom. And so he, perforce, must have kept a watchful eye on Diego and Bartholomew.

### *The Homeward Journey*

On October 12, 1500, the caravel *La Gorda* hoisted anchor and set her prow for Spain. The Admiral left the presidio unaccompanied by his brothers and was escorted to the beach where a skiff rowed him to the ship. The Discoverer makes no mention of seeing his brothers at that time or during the voyage. But this is not unusual. Neither does he record converse between them in the fort. Were the trio held *incomunicado* there it should have been as easy to arrange this aboard *La Gorda*, taking them to the vessel one by one and ensconcing each in a distinct part of the boat. Such would have increased their consternation and should have been a potent psychological weapon to assure good behavior.

Andrés Martín was the captain or *contramaestre* of *La Gorda*. Alonso Vallejo was the commander of the fleet. Whether the caravel bearing the Columbus brothers returned alone or sailed in squadron is not known.

But it seems likely that it was in the company of other ships. Vallejo once offered to remove the Admiral's shackles. If Martín also desired to do the same, it was with the permission of the commander since the captain was subordinate to him and would not have dared to act *sui juris*.

Bishop Fonseca's disdain for the Columbus family was well known. Vallejo was charged with the duty of seeing to it that all three were delivered to the tribunals in Spain. For the same reason he would have kept them all in the fortress, and would have had them on the same ship, namely, to assure their safe arrival at the peninsula. The fact that is that all three arrived on the same day, the end of November, 1500, at the port of Cádiz. Had separate caravels transported Diego and Bartholomew this occurrence would have been most improbable.

Were the Admiral alone on *La Gorda* there is no reason why the other two should be together. Both were famous and both equally guilty of the trumped up charges levelled against Christopher Columbus. No mention is made of any ship bearing Diego, or any vessel carrying Bartholomew. The only reasonable inference is that all three were sent to Spain aboard *La Gorda*.

When she reached home waters, Ferdinand and Isabella were at Granada. As soon as the notice of the Admiral's and his brothers' arrival came to them, no time was lost repairing the damage and rectifying the insults. Two thousand ducats were sent to them to defray the expenses of the trip to court. The sad party entered the presence of the monarchs just a fortnight after dropping anchor at Cádiz, December 17, 1500. Christopher still wore his chains and Bartholomew would not kneel or show any signs of emotion. No reference is made to Diego. However, his absence should have elicited a comment from the king and his consort who knew the three brothers had arrived at Cádiz, and thence expected them at court, since ample funds had been provided for this purpose.

Such is the story behind the inadvertent and inoffensive remark of the guide who unwittingly said that

Christopher Columbus was the most famous guest the Torre del Homenaje ever enjoyed.

Maria Antonia dela Paz y Figueroa

## Geographic Factors

(Continued from page ninety)

improved highway systems must make for "ribbons of population" from one group to another. Thus the eucumene<sup>3</sup> would be extended. To construct these lines across mountains, deserts, swamps, savannahs, and rain forests would be a stupendous undertaking. Freight and passenger service would hardly pay for the upkeep; consequently, government subsidies might be needed.

Air and steamship lines will aid in lieu of overland routes in areas very remote or inaccessible. Motor highways, of which the Inter-American and Simon Bolivar are examples, must play an important part in inter-American transportation and cooperation.

To develop forests, plantations, and mines, outside capital is necessary; capital for the sake of honest investment and not for economic exploitation. And to encourage the investment of foreign capital governments must be strong and stable.

Opportunities for learning and health education must be extended. Scientists and technicians are needed for prospecting, research, and experimental work.

In the past, El Dorado beckoned not only to the Spanish and Portuguese, but to the French, Dutch, British, Germans, and Italians. More recently Anglo-Americans and Japanese have become interested. But in the past many of the South American countries have looked to Europe for aid. To make for future hemisphere solidarity the United States should show a greater interest. In other words, we must aid our sister republics to attain political and economic maturity. But in order to help we must know Latin America, her resources and area of potential wealth. Moreover, we must understand the people of this "Land of Opportunity," their shortcomings, their needs, their cultures and institutions.

<sup>3</sup> A politico-geographical term meaning a center of population.

## Recent Books In Review

### European History

*Clemenceau*, by Geoffrey Bruun. Cambridge. Harvard University Press. 1943. pp. 219. \$3.00

Of the many biographies of Georges Clemenceau which have come from the press, that of Geoffrey Bruun is deserving of special consideration. This volume contains an extraordinary depth of truth and interest. In a clear, precise and captivating style, the author studies carefully the active life of the former head of the French government from his birth in 1841, to his death in 1929. The portrait which he paints of this historical personage is truly colorful. Being descended from an old family of Vendée, Clemenceau possessed that fighting spirit so characteristic of the Vendéens. As a student he evidenced a particular penchant for the sciences which later drew him to the study of medicine, a profession which he practiced for a very brief period. At the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War he was chosen mayor of Montmartre, in which capacity he did not hesitate to manifest open opposition to the government. Elected to the Chamber of Deputies in 1876, he immediately identified himself with the extreme Leftist party, and gained immense popularity and influence as a result of his rare ability as an

orator. Clemenceau, the deputy, was a libre-penseur and definitely anti-clerical. He combated boulangism, took up the defence of Dreyfus, and was entangled in the Panama affair. Finally, as a consequence of these controversies, he lost favor with the people, and fortune abandoned him. During the legislative elections of 1893 he failed completely, and was forced to retire from public life. With bitterness and rancor in his heart he then used his pen as weapon of revenge. It was not until 1902, when he was appointed Senator of Var, that he again returned to the political limelight. Always an extreme Leftist, he began that turbulent campaign which in 1905 resulted in the separation of Church and State. The year 1906 witnessed his entrance into the Cabinet as Minister of the Interior, and later as President of the Council. As head of the French government, Clemenceau had to surmount numerous difficulties both at home and abroad. Domestic problems which presented themselves in the form of strikes and revolts proved a serious menace to his cabinet. From without Germany's attempted encroachments on Morocco had to be impeded. Before his resignation in 1909 he was influential in strengthening L'Entente Cordiale between France and England.

Georges Clemenceau rendered his greatest services to France during the War of 1914-1918. Called to the highest power for

the second time, he displayed an indomitable courage and *sang froid* surpassed by few. It is interesting to note that in November, 1917, Clemenceau's opinions had reached a turning point. He is no longer "l'ancien communal," the anti-clerical, the political opportunist, the partisan of the *bloc des gauches*. He had learned through bitter experience that anti-clericalism, radicalism, and sectarianism were abominable anti-liberal "isms" and therefore "très peu français." From that date the old "Tiger" recognized only those Frenchmen who lived and died for France. His connections with his party were definitely severed, and he made himself superior to all parties. With justice he could have repeated those memorable words Lamartine spoke in 1833, regarding the place he wished to occupy in parliament: "*Je siégerai au plafond.*" Clemenceau was seventy-seven when he reassumed the responsibility of the government. The military, political, and moral situation of France was then in a precarious condition. There was a noticeable weakening in resistance to the enemy; the Caillauxists were increasing in numbers and were gaining ground from day to day. Morality suffered at the hands of defeatism. One recalls the Russian disloyalty, Brest-Litowsk, the defeat of the Italians at Caporetto.

Through it all the new head of the government was equal to the task. He had several traitors executed, and ordered the arrest of Joseph Caillaux, the defeatist. He appointed Foch, that out-standing loyal Catholic, as Generalissimo of the allied armies. A new spirit arose, the morale of the troops and civilians improved; the crisis of March, 1918 to July of the same year was passed. From July 16th until the armistice the triumph of Clemenceau and his allies continued without interruption.

If Clemenceau succeeded so well during war when all seemed lost, he failed completely in the peace negotiations. Fighter that he was he could not play the role of peacemaker. He was unable to obtain the fulfillment of the demands of Foch and Poincaré, demands that guaranteed the security of France and at the same time that of the whole world. Once again the realism of Sancho Panza ran counter to the idealism of his master, Don Quixote, and the world turned like the windmills of Cervantes. The political career of Clemenceau terminated abruptly in January, 1920. The "*Père de la Victoire*" became "*Perd la Victoire.*" He did not succeed in being elected President of the Republic. In the interest of peace, the National Congress preferred a man almost unknown, Paul Deschanel. Clemenceau retired from politics and died as a freethinker in November, 1929. The records of history which are impartial and just will certainly prove to what measure truth was or was not on his side. The biography of Mr. Bruun which we have just analyzed is a very interesting and instructive book; it constitutes a veritable contribution to contemporary history. The author brings out in the open thorny questions which have been debated since that unsatisfactory treaty of Versailles. He has endeavored at all times to show the true side, basing his observations on authentic documents. His subject is presented in an intelligent manner; the facts and ideas are agreeably linked, and follow each other with logical precision. All that was previously in the under-current rises to the surface in this biography. In an attractive and animated style, the author has blended, according to the precept of Horace, "*l'utile avec l'agréable.*"

GUSTAVE V. GREVENIG

**A Short History of Russia**, by B. H. Sumner. New York. Reynal and Hitchcock. 1943. pp. 469. \$3.75

To anyone expecting an outline of Russian history in chronological order this book may prove a disappointment. For one seeking insight, Mr. Sumner's work, approaching the Russian scene from a sevenfold viewpoint, should prove satisfying. Under headings, *The Frontier, The State, The Land, The Church, The Slavs, The Sea, and The West*, we are able to watch the growth of the *Sleeping Bear* from the early days when life flowed through Kiev while Rome and Byzantium in turn played the tutor. Naturally, because of the mode of presentation, repetition cannot be avoided, but where possible, Mr. Sumner makes it painless.

In the light of a recent change in official Soviet attitude, namely, a change from the view that the capitalistic past and its traditions meant nothing to New Russia, to that resulting in the present glorification of ancient Russian leaders (witness the Alexander Nevsky and Kutuzov medals,) this book has some significance. The study of her past is necessary for a clear understanding of our present day ally. Certainly we have here a readable summary of past events in Holy Russia and Mr. Sumner's treatment of the present regime is an attempt

at objectivity over a much disputed question. For the reader who does not know Russian the author provides a well-arranged and rather impartially evaluated bibliography of English, German and French books on Russia.

DONALD CAMPION

**The Passing of The European Age**, by Eric Fischer. Cambridge. Harvard University Press. 1943. pp. xiii + 214. \$2.50

Nothing makes more for interest than new thoughts on something going on about us. Dr. Fischer's book contains such thoughts, and for this reason deserves attention. In addition, the fund of information in each chapter, put forth in pleasing style, should win those seeking more than novelty. Men of our day have been concerned about the future of Europe. "The very foundation of our Western Civilization cannot withstand a second explosion," said Stanley Baldwin. Examining this opinion and pessimistic and optimistic variations of it, Dr. Fischer proposes a middle course: European civilization is meeting the crisis met by all former civilization, but the heritage has been transferred to other lands. Moreover, this transfer is manifested by the reaction felt in Europe from former colonies.

From the Iberian peninsula to Latin America, from Britain to the Commonwealth of Nations, from Western Russia to Asia, and from the smaller nations to various parts of the globe he traces a gradual shifting of cultural and economic leadership. Even more interesting are the chapter "Why Do Civilizations Pass?" and that drawing the parallel between the present supposed transfer and the one from Greece to the Hellenistic World. As with all theories, readers may feel that the author has stretched facts to fit his pattern. For instance, interpretations in Chapter VI, "The Small Nations," may be questioned. But Dr. Fischer attempts to chart the course of modern civilization and as such, his book deserves attention if not entire approval.

DONALD CAMPION

**A History of Deeds Done Beyond The Sea**, by William, Archbishop of Tyre. Translated by E. A. Babcock and A. C. Krey. 2 vol. New York. Columbia University Press. 1943. pp. 556 and 553. \$13.50

To the medieval historian the Crusades mean much because they exemplify well the breadth and influence of the Middle Ages. For many years then, students and historians have needed an English translation of the first comprehensive history of the Crusades ever written — the story of Jerusalem from the first loss by the Christians in A. D. 614, by way of introduction, up to within a short time of its loss in 1187 to the army of Saladin. Few works of the Middle Ages were as historically plotted and at the same time so interestingly detailed as was this work of Archbishop William. By this carefully annotated translation the history of the Kingdom of Jerusalem during the Crusades is made accessible to a much greater audience.

Every work of moment on the Crusades has taken the account of William as a basis, so much so — the translators tell us — that many eminent historians have been content to add chapters anonymously to complete the work and bring it up to the close of the Crusades. In itself *The History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, to take the name given in the translation, was the outgrowth of three smaller works done at different periods to complete an entire canvas. The research on *Gesta Amalrici*, which was undertaken by William for King Amaury as a chronicle of his reign, revealed that there was no previous account that was worthy of the name; hence was begun the *Gesta Regum* to bring the history from the pilgrimage of Peter the Hermit to the date with which *Gesta Amalrici* had been begun. The King, pleased with this chronicle and desirous of knowing the history of the Muslims preceding the coming of the Latins, asked William to undertake what was to be the *Gesta orientaliū principum*. In his later years, William of Tyre pieced the three together, sometimes with good effect, sometimes rather loosely, to form a whole history of the kingdom of Jerusalem up to the time of his death (c. 1185).

Despite some confusion in William's chronology owing to the various systems he used, quite a bit of provincialism, and an ascending order of scholarship — the care and historical precision becoming better as William proceeded — *The History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea* can well take its place as source material for the period of the Crusades. It is the primary source for the history of the Crusades in the years between 1127 and 1184, and an important supplement for the periods before that. If we add here that the translators have done much to obviate

the confusion in chronology and have given better form by means of footnotes, to William's earlier and less experienced research, it can be understood how this English annotated translation makes a noteworthy contribution to the original.

Obviously in such a work there are bound to be some flaws but to the translators' credit they have been minimized. In perusing the early part of the first volume the reader will be quite confused by the use of proper names and their varying forms. Though repetition of names and their equivalents might be almost a scholarly necessity, it would seem to have been better to take up the subject of names more completely in the introduction and then to refer to the treatment in the introduction in all succeeding places. One is left in wonder at the statement of the translators that they have used the King James' version of the Bible because it is more familiar to most people, but that they make use of the Douay version where passages are not included in the Protestant version. A complete Bible would be of more use always in an historical work, in the opinion of the reviewer. What would the good Archbishop of Tyre think of using such a reference work to translate biblical passages in his good Catholic history of the Crusades!

Attention should be called also to the bibliography and the excellent explanatory footnotes. Both translators deserve the greatest credit for the research and explanations accompanying the text, as well as for the very readable version of a work that might have become monotonous in translation. In brief, *The History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea* is a welcome addition and contribution to Columbia University's "Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies."

J. J. CAMPBELL

## American History

*Behind The Lines in The Southern Confederacy*, by Charles W. Ramsdell. Edited by Wendell H. Stephenson. Baton Rouge. Louisiana State University Press. 1944. pp. xxi + 136. \$2.00

*The Plain People of The Confederacy*, by Bell Irvin Wiley. Baton Rouge. L. S. U. Press. 1943. pp. ix + 104. \$1.50

The first work is a posthumous printing of the inaugural series of the Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History begun at Louisiana State University in 1937. With thirty years of intensive and meticulous study lending force to his pen, Dr. Ramsdell shows that the real cause of the downfall of the Confederacy was internal. Without minimizing other factors brought forward to explain the Lost Cause, he proves the insufficiency of them and points to the matter of finances as the greatest single weakness of the Confederacy.

He portrays the overwhelming social and political problems that beset the Confederacy; the experiments set up to cope with these, which led the Southern people to abandon their habitual *laissez-faire* concepts of the functions of government; and finally, the failure consequent upon the weakened and disintegrated economic life of the beleaguered Confederates.

His is a sympathetic view of the failure. The economic and political organization of the Southern people before secession was of such simplicity that only a series of miracles would have made it possible to administer the gigantic, complex, and baffling tasks involved in providing resources for the armies and the people.

Admirers of Dr. Ramsdell, the "dean" of Southern historians, will welcome both the highlights of his career as recorded in the foreword and the bibliography of his writings that is appended to the work. The book will also provide interesting reading for students of economic and comparative history, and research students in the field of Confederate days.

Leaving the moss-laden oaks that lined the paths to the magnolia-scented "Big House" of the Old South, Dr. Wiley invades the huts and cabins and fighting fronts in search of the humbler people, both white and black, who "constituted the bone and sinew of the Southern Confederacy." His work falls into three sections, containing sketches of the character and experiences of the *Common Soldiers*, the *Folk at Home*, and the *Colored Folk*.

In search for objectiveness, he is as straightforward in portraying the illiteracy, crudity, and failings of the nonslaveholders as in depicting their integrity, virtues, and citizenship. However, it appears to this reviewer that the author spent a disproportionate amount of time and space in picturing the shortcomings of the people as in comparison with showing their positive contributions to the cause. For example, he devotes a large part of his chapter on the *Common Soldiers* to their plunder and

thievery, vice, gambling, drunkenness, and desertion, whereas he is rather brief in saying that "the majority of the Rebels stayed at their posts till death, disability, or peace gave them their honorable discharge," and that "taken as a whole the fighting record of the men who wore the gray was a good one."

In the chapter on the *Folk at Home*, he pays splendid tribute to the wives and mothers of the soldiers, who remained steadfast and loyal to the end. He shows that the *Colored Folk*, who constituted about one-third of the Confederacy's populace, were not for the most part possessed of the docility of the "Old Kentucky Home" type of Negro, but swift graspers of freedom on the approach of the Yankees, insubordinate, and insolent, slothful, and even violent in the invaded areas.

Students of human nature will rejoice at the abundant letters and anecdotes portraying the rich humor of the Southern soldiers, and the strength of character hidden between the lines of grim letters of women to the governmental officials. Worthy of note is the account of Negroes in both armies, and of the movement launched by a group of people in the Confederacy to increase in some particulars the rights and privileges of the slaves.

MICHEL B. MAJOLI

*Geography of Latin America*, by Fred A. Carlson. Revised Edition. New York. Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1943. pp. 556. \$4.50

*Latin America and the United States*, by Graham H. Stuart. Fourth Edition. D. Appleton-Century Co. 1943. pp. 509.

Neither of these works needs introduction nor comment. Both have already established themselves in the Latin American field in earlier editions. And both have been bettered by the revision. Not only have they been brought to date, as is the case with the second, but both have incorporated the most recent studies and researches that bear on earlier portions of the works. The reader may be a bit disappointed at times in finding that figures and tables in Mr. Carlson's work generally do not go past 1941; but in this connection it is well to remember that United States Department of Commerce figures have not been released for the past few years, owing to war restrictions and censorship.

JOHN F. BANNON

*Revolutionary Generation, 1763-1790*, by Evarts Boutell Greene. New York. The Macmillan Company. 1943. pp. xvii + 487. \$4.00

This book, the fourth in a series of twelve which have as their aim a narration of American history from 1492 to 1928, covers a very short period in this vast field, but a very important one. These years are a critical period in American history, but Professor Greene, a competent man, has written a very fine book about them.

He gives a detailed account of each of a number of the important elements of the daily life of the American at that period: social relations, pre-revolutionary religion, pre-revolutionary culture and others. Under the heading social relations, for example, he shows the importance of marriage, of immigrants, of immigration, of the classes and states of people, and the education of this period; he shows how these phases of life affected the spirit of the country and how they brought about important changes. The reader of this book will readily understand why certain customs grew into American life; why Americans were forced into a new government, and why America had to break with England and its traditions, if it was going to make any progress.

But this detailed discussion of the daily life of the early American might so engross the reader that he will fail to grasp the important changes and the fundamental principles of the period. His very interest in the details might lag as the recital goes on and on. Therefore, I would recommend the book only for those who already have a general background of the period. For the reader who has this knowledge, the book will supply very interesting particulars that would not otherwise be known. Used in this way, the book will, I think, prove more interesting and be of more help in understanding the early American and America's rise to recognition.

JOHN G. HOLBROOK

*A Short History of American Democracy*, by John D. Hicks. Boston. Houghton Mifflin Co. 1943. pp. xii, 859. \$5.50

This latest volume of John D. Hicks (now Professor of History in the University of California) is characterized by the same

sound scholarship and accuracy that marked his two earlier volumes, *The Federal Union*, and *The American Nation*. This present work is a condensation of his earlier texts with additional chapters which trace the history of the United States down to the Tunisian campaign. Obviously in a survey history of this type there are some omissions, and some parts which are treated too briefly, with the result that it is not an adequate text book. As a supplement, however, to Professor Hicks' two previous volumes it is excellent.

A very recommendable feature of the text is the large number of illustrations, maps, line drawings, and cartoons.

J. J. SCHLAFLY

**George Fitzhugh**, by Harvey Wish. Baton Rouge. Louisiana State University Press. 1943. pp. 351. \$3.00

In this graphic picture of a southern proslavery writer in the Civil War era Harvey Wish has completed an excellent work of historical analysis. It is interesting to follow the very readable story of how Fitzhugh, professing a deep contempt for and impatience with the dialectics of liberalism, insisted that the social nature of man, as well as his dependence upon group forms and associations to escape extermination, made slavery almost a group instinct. The author also describes at some length Fitzhugh's open and sincere advocacy of a romantic and aristocratic conception of the South as a Greek democracy which must of necessity have rested on perpetual Negro slavery. In addition, Harvey Wish's portrayal of Fitzhugh's pamphleteering, his political and social activity and his personal life makes manifest the fact that Fitzhugh borrowed from the same reactionary European philosophies which were later to become the ideology of Hitler's National Socialism.

The fascinating subject-matter itself far overshadows the defects of occasional flat, factual passages and a notable absence of a more colorful treatment of the social and political background of the South. The concluding *Essay on Authorities* seems complete in every way and gives the reader and historian a perfect bibliography of pro-slavery writing. Thus the biography of George Fitzhugh presents the fact of how well Southern writers and Fitzhugh in particular succeeded in directing the counter-offensive of propaganda against "free society." Harvey Wish has written a clear, objective and authoritative account of why William Lloyd Garrison stigmatized Fitzhugh as the "Don Quixote of Slavedom." It is a book which cannot be overlooked by those interested in the Civil War era.

DONALD N. BARRETT

**The British Traveler in America, 1836-1860**, by Max Berger. New York. Columbia University Press. 1943. pp. 239. \$3.00

Washington Irving once said that "English travelers are the best and the worst in the world." This compilation of extant accounts left us by Britishers who visited pre-Civil War United States certainly substantiates Irving's statement. Many of the travelers herein included are those Irving typifies as the best, namely those who traveled without motives of pride or patriotic prejudice. Also included in this collection are those whom Irving typifies as the "worst in the world." Notable members of this latter classification are Charles Dickens, Harriet Martineau, and Captain Marryat. They were horrified by the steady streams of tobacco juice ejected by the American male, by the egalitarianism which sanctioned servants dining at the same table with their masters, by the speed mania which encouraged Mississippi steamboats to race at the risk of boiler explosions. I think the best explanation for this attitude toward the American "way of life" is the one expressed by the *Edinburgh Review* (lxxvi, 497): "It is the nature of an Englishman to think everything ridiculous which contrasts what he has been used to."

Besides being very interesting the book has much historical value. It presents a clear picture of conditions immediately preceding the Civil War. Many of the travelers expressed their reactions to the slavery situation. An extensive critical bibliography, the first of its kind to be compiled in this particular field, adds to the value of Dr. Berger's study.

J. J. SCHLAFLY

## Church History

**Saint Teresa of Avila**, by William Thomas Walsh. Milwaukee. Bruce Publishing Company. 1943. pp. 592 \$5.00

When Mr. Walsh attempted the life of Saint Teresa, he was dealing with two subjects about which the average American

reader knows less than nothing — Spain and contemplative convents. The "less than nothing" means, of course, that what he knows is almost entirely wrong.

Yet, in the setting of sixteenth-century Spain, when the Spanish Empire was the greatest in the world — fresh from its reconquest of its homeland, the discovery of the New World, and the final victory over the Moslem — Saint Teresa was able to make intelligible to aspiring souls, men and women, the importance of loving God and doing vicarious penance for the sins of forgetful sinners.

Saint Teresa, Spaniard and contemplative, is one of the great women of all times. She won her place in history, not as most women have done, by virtue of their vices, but by virtue of her virtues. Personally attractive, beautiful, and profoundly wise, she did the hardest job a person can do — bring back the austere spirit of an Order which has gone slack and mediocre. That this woman could have achieved the reform for both men and the women Carmelites is proof of her personal genius quite as much as of her deep sanctity.

Mr. Walsh has painted the picture of this amazing woman in a large and beautifully documented book. Wisely, he has let Teresa speak for herself — This she does eloquently and at great length. Mr. Walsh has filled in with great historic insight and a mastery of the Spain of her day, the background and connections that make her life intelligible.

Every Catholic is deeply proud of the achievements of Teresa. But every historian will want to know more intimately the woman whose work was far more lasting than that of Elizabeth of England and was done at cost of suffering only to herself. While Elizabeth was pulling down the monasteries, Teresa was building contemplative convents. While Elizabeth was destroying the old Faith, Teresa was reteaching the world the great possibilities of human love for God.

DANIEL A. LORD

**The Vita Christi of Ludolphus The Carthusian**, A Dissertation by Sr. Mary Immaculate Bodendstedt, S.N.D. Washington, D. C. Catholic University Press. 1944. pp. viii + 160.

One of the greatest ascetical works of the later Middle Ages was the *Vita Christi* of Ludolphus the Carthusian. In it the fused Catholic culture of the preceding centuries finds a fine expression, and at the same time the beginnings of the Renaissance are foreshadowed. With interest and hearty approval, then, can we look upon any work which treats the *Vita Christi* or some point in connection with it. In this doctoral dissertation can be found everything necessary for a beginning of a study of this well-known work of Ludolphus. The reviewer would like to see this dissertation used as the opening chapters of a new English translation of the *Vita Christi* — a real need in the field of Medieval Studies — but for the time he must be content to look at it on its own merits.

Five chapters are devoted to the life and writings of Ludolphus, the sources of the *Vita Christi*, its influence, an analysis of the *Vita*, and the position of prayer in the work. The third chapter on the "Influence of the *Vita Christi*" is excellent, as is the last chapter "Prayer in the *Vita Christi*," although it does not fit into the general scheme of the work, being too particularized if compared with the others which are of a general nature. In Chapter IV attention is given to Ludolphus the theologian, the exegete, the preacher, and an authority on the ascetical life. The last three topics are handled well but "Ludolphus the Theologian" shows that the author was not too conversant with theology; and very sensibly, no attempt was made to exceed her knowledge in the field by rash statements. However, such being the case, the division might as easily, and perhaps better, have been omitted.

In the first chapter, page 9, the writer of the thesis tells us that the intellectual outlook of Ludolphus was Dominican. In support of this statement, a reference is made in a footnote to a work by a member of the Order of Preachers. It might very easily have been that Ludolphus had a Dominican intellectual outlook, but reference in support of such a statement should include more than one author, who happens to be a member of the Dominican Order; especially since there could be a perfectly human tendency in such an author to see others in the truly great light of Dominican learning, without such being necessarily objectively true.

These are minor points, though, in a scholarly work that we hope will draw attention to a great ascetic and scholar and his *Vita Christi*.

J. J. CAMPBELL

*Historical Records and Studies*, edited by Rev. Thomas J. McMahon, S. T. D. New York. The United States Catholic Historical Society, Vol. xxxiii. 1944. pp. 114.

This small volume commemorates the annual meeting of the United States Catholic Historical Society held in New York, 1943. Following a brief resume of the Society's history there are five articles on Catholic History in the Americas.

The first is an address delivered at the annual meeting by Rev. W. Eugene Shiels, S.J. in which he briefly outlines the story of Catholic faith and culture in Latin America. Rev. Patrick W. O'Flaherty has an informing survey of the "Growth of the Catholic Church in the United States." Starting with the original diocese of Baltimore, he traces the development through the various councils of 1829, 1852 and 1866, to the dioceses as they are today.

"The First Jesuit Missions in Florida" by Michael Kenny, S.J., draws attention to the fact that the first Jesuit martyrs of America were not the canonized Apostles of New York and Canada, but the martyrs of Virginia, who suffered at the hands of the Indians of the Aquia region in 1571. Even though "The Acadian Confessors of Long Island" by Rev. John K. Sharp, is somewhat tedious reading due to the number of government records quoted, still it has interest for the historian and general reader in telling what happened to a part of the French Acadians, despoiled and deported by England's colonial policy.

Fr. Irenaeus Herscher, O.F.M., in "St. Bonaventure College and Seminary," tells of the humble beginnings, the struggles against adversity and misfortune, and the firm advances made by the Franciscans at Allegany, New York.

The list of monographs of the Society given on page two is a helpful index to information for the Catholic Historian.

WILLIAM H. STEINER

*Maryknoll Mission Letters*, semi-annual publication. New York. Field Afar Press. \$.50

*St. Meinrad Historical Essays*, quarterly publication. St. Meinrad. Ind. Abbey Press.

These are two interesting Catholic publications. The purpose of the first is to promote friendly contact with the authors of the *Letters*, who write in a popular style of the customs and ethnological background of their catechumens. Their value and interest is increased in view of the troubled conditions of the lands in which these men labor.

The present edition of the *Essays* has little of historical interest. The main feature is a rather detailed analysis of the books of the New Testament.

WILLIAM THRO

## Political and Social Science

*American Freethought, 1860-1914*, by Sidney Warren. New York. Columbia University Press. 1943. pp. 257. \$3.25

There is only one thing wrong with this book: the men the author writes about seem never to have known precisely what they were talking about. Doctor Warren in this book is supposed to be giving a critical appreciation of the freethought movement in America. He seems to play the freethinkers up as the most tolerant and intelligent people in the world opposed by the "churchmen" who were the most bigoted and unintelligent. One would not mind so much if both sides had been accused of remarkable stupidity in their irrelevancy, for the critical approach of both sides was certainly not too profound to say the least. Seemingly the leaders on both sides had a bad habit of arbitrarily setting up premises — which are never justified — and working their systems out from there. The scientists loudly proclaimed that all reality be explicable by experimental science or be thrown out as false; the "churchmen" — an indiscriminate lumping together on the part of our author — intolerantly demanded an adherence to some sort of anthropomorphic figure they liked to look upon as God. One cannot blame the so-called freethinkers for kicking against this sort of goad. On the other hand one cannot exactly blame the "intolerant churchmen" for clamping down on the haughty freethinkers who were viewing themselves as the very first in all history to have hit upon the truth of things.

Freethinkers did make themselves obnoxious. They insisted that freethought was the fountainhead of all freedom and the cause of all social progress. This shows them up not merely as bad philosophers; they were equally bad historians. A little more "open-mindedness" on their own part — the open-minded-

ness they were supposed to have brought into the world — would have prompted them to tone down some of their ridiculous claims.

Finally, it might be suggested to Mr. Warren that when he does something like giving the Catholic Church's attitude on socialism he might do well to go to Catholics for a statement of their attitude. This would make for what might be called "impartial history."

CHARLES PRENDERGAST

*The Tariff Reform Movement in Great Britain, 1881-1895*, by Benjamin H. Brown. New York. Columbia University Press. 1943. pp. x + 170. \$2.50

In this short book the author has given a concise account of the issue which was prominent in Great Britain during the closing years of the nineteenth century, the period of the so-called "Great Depression." The writer does not treat the subject from an exclusively economic or political point of view but seeks to explore "that twilight region between economic circumstances and the formation of political and social policies." Technical terms are avoided; therefore, the thought can be easily grasped. For those who desire further reading matter on this topic there is an extensive bibliography of primary and secondary sources.

In 1860, the year of the signing of the Cobden-Chevalier treaty, Great Britain had adopted an almost universal system of free trade. Other nations trading with her had clung to their policies of protectionism. Repercussions began to be felt fully by British domestic industries around 1869. In 1881 the movement for the return to protectionism was begun in earnest by the formation of the National Fair Trade League. In 1895, when Joseph Chamberlain assumed the office of Colonial Minister, the protectionists were still crying for retaliatory duties against foreign nations and preferential tariffs within the empire. The author concentrates upon the motives and methods of the leaders of the tariff reform movement. In the first chapter he traces the origins of the movement. In the other four chapters he deals with the movement in relation to labor, the Conservative Party, imperialism, industry, and agriculture. In this way the ground is covered several times. The objection, however, may be raised that this method of treatment destroys the natural sequence of the events.

JOHN C. SVEC

*American Political Parties: Their Natural History*, by Wilfred E. Binkley. New York. Alfred A. Knopf. 1943. pp. xii + 407. \$3.75

One thing for certain can be said about Professor Binkley's book: if you have any taste at all for American history you would enjoy reading it. The author's intention is not to furnish a complete history of American political parties, and so the matter he treats is selected discriminately and presented in a fast-paced, colorful narrative. His purpose, as the title indicates, is to write a "natural history" of American political parties. That is, he wants to account for their composition, to ascertain the reasons why they came together, what gave them coherence, and what finally brought about their disintegration. In particular he wants to explore the master politician's art, to find out how a man goes about unifying divergent interests into a single party.

Narrative in form, the book is something more than a narrative. In telling his story the author gradually unfolds a theory of the function of the political leader in a democracy. The clearest expression of this theory occurs towards the end of the book (p.376), where he says, "After all, it is the politician-stateman's function to ascertain, express, and translate into public policies the current balance of social forces." Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, McKinley, Wilson, the two Roosevelts, these were the masters of the political art, because they were the men most keenly sensitive to the social mood, most apt at giving it concise expression and translating it into action.

One wonders whether Professor Binkley's ideal of political leadership is adequate to the needs of democratic government. Can it be assumed that "the current balance of social forces" always tends in the direction of the true common good of the nation? Is the combination of group interests dominant at any time really equivalent to the national interest? Again, is it not the function of a political leader to lead rather than merely to serve as the instrument of social forces, which are often blind and may be self-destructive? This reviewer considers Professor Binkley's theory of statemanship open to serious criticism on these counts. But this is not to criticize his book as such. This book is a well-written and stimulating study.

FRANCIS CAVANAN